



SAINT PAUL. SUMMER OF 1852.

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MATERIALS

FOR THE FUTURE

HISTORY OF MINNESOTA;

BEING A

R E P O R T

OF THE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TO THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

IN ACCORDANCE WITH A JOINT RESOLUTION.

FIFTEEN HUNDRED COPIES ORDERED TO BE PRINTED FOR THE USE OF THE LEGISLATURE.

SAINT PAUL: •
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PIONEER AND DEMOCRAT OFFICE.

1856.

TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF MINNESOTA:

In accordance with a Joint Resolution, the following information obtained from Manuscripts, the Annals of the Society, and other sources, is submitted.

By the courtesy of the well known and accurate Photographer and Daguerrean, JOEL E. WHITNEY, of St. Paul, the Society has been enabled to illustrate several subjects.

EDWARD D. NEILL,
Secretary Minnesota Historical Society.

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ANNALS

OF THE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

AT the outset of a Report to the Legislative Assembly of Minnesota, it seems proper to correct some erroneous impressions that are current among well informed men. To prevent mistake, a meeting convened at Stillwater, in August, 1848, for the purpose of taking steps to procure a Territorial organization, instructed their delegate to see that the name of the Territory should be written MIN-NE-SO-TA, and not MI-NE-SO-TA, as many respectable authorities still continue to write and pronounce.

MINNESOTA—THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

The discoverer of the stream of this name, was Le Sueur, and in the first map that delineates the stream, which was issued in France more than a century ago, it is marked as the "Minisota;" pronounced Min-nee-sotah. It is a Dakota word, applied to the stream in consequence of its peculiar appearance at certain seasons. This nation call the Missouri, Minishoshe, (Minnesoshay) turbid or muddy water, and distinguish the stream from which the Territory derived its name, by the compound word Mini-sota. Mini, written in English minne, means water; and sota, is a qualifying word, meaning whitish, like the sky. The editor of the Dakota Lexicon, published by the Smithsonian Institute, in a communication published in the "Pioneer" at St. Paul, July 29, 1853, remarks,

"The clear sky of Minnesota is often *whitish* rather than *blueish*, and it is most probable that in this appearance, the true idea of 'sota' is to be found. Hence it may be regarded as meaning 'sky colored,' 'sky tinted' or whitish. But it matters not if we cannot by any single definition, give the full idea of sota. If, like a lady's changeable silk, it presents various shades and tints, as seen from various points, so much the more beautiful is it, and so much the more full of poetry."

Le Sueur, in giving it a French name, called it Saint Pierre. At that time a distinguished man by that name was in the North-West. To him the first English traveller in Minnesota, seems to refer. Describing Lake Pepin, as it appeared ninety years ago he remarks :—

"Here I observed the ruins of a French Factory, where, it is said, Captain St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies (Dakotas), before the reduction of Canada."

It was never called the "St. Peters" until Americans began to visit the country.

By long usage, boats destined for Fort Snelling, were said to be bound for "St. Peters," and soon the name crept upon the maps of the United States.

A memorial to the President of the United States, prepared by the Hon. Martin McLeod, of Hennepin county, was passed by the Legislative Assembly of 1852, asking that the term "St. Peters" be discontinued. In June of the same year, the following was approved by the President:—

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act, the river in the Territory of Minnesota, known as the Saint Peter's, shall be known and designated on the public records as the Minnesota river."

HA-HA FALLS.

These, within a few months, have obtained a world-wide reputation, from the fact that "a certain one of our own poets" has given the name of Minne-ha-ha to the wife of Hiawatha. Longfellow, in his vocabulary, says:—"Minne-ha-ha—Laughing water; a waterfall or a stream running into the Mississippi, between Fort Snelling and the Falls of St. Anthony." All waterfalls, in the Dakota tongue, are called Ha-ha, never Minne-ha-ha. The "h" has a strong guttural sound, and the word is applied because of the curling of the waters. The verb I-ha-ha primarily means to curl; secondarily to laugh because of the curling motion of the mouth in laughter. The noise of Ha-ha is called by the Dakotas I-ha-ha, because of its resemblance to laughter.

A drive of less than fifteen minutes from Fort Snelling brings the visitor to a view that makes a life-time impression. The representation given is an engraving taken from a daguerreotype view made by the favorably-known artist, Joel E. Whitney, of St. Paul.

A small rivulet, the outlet of Lakes Harriet and Calhoun, gently gliding over the bluff into an amphitheatre, forms this graceful waterfall. It has but little of "the cataract's thunder." Niagara symbolizes the sublime; Saint Anthony, the picturesque; Ha-ha, the beautiful. The fall is about sixty feet, presenting a parabolic curve, which drops, without the least deviation, until it has reached its lower level, when the stream goes on its way rejoicing, curling along in laughing childish glee at the graceful feat it has performed in bounding over the precipice.

SAINT CROIX OR HOGAN-WANKE RIVER.

The Wisconsin Historical Society in a late report erroneously supposes that this name was given to represent the idea of the *holy cross*, by some Frenchman.

In La Harpe's Louisiana, there is an abstract of the Journal of Le Sueur's Voyage to the Mankato in 1700, from which this extract is taken:—

"He made this day three and three-fourth leagues; and on the 16th of September he left a large river on the East side named SAINT CROIX, because a Frenchman of that name was wrecked at its mouth."

Both the Saint Pierre and Saint Croix derived their name from individuals with whom Le Sueur was a co-temporary. The Dakotas call the St. Croix, Hogan-wanke-kin. The legend is, that in the distant past, two Dakota warriors, were travelling on the shores of lake Saint Croix, one of whom was under a vow to one of his gods, not to eat

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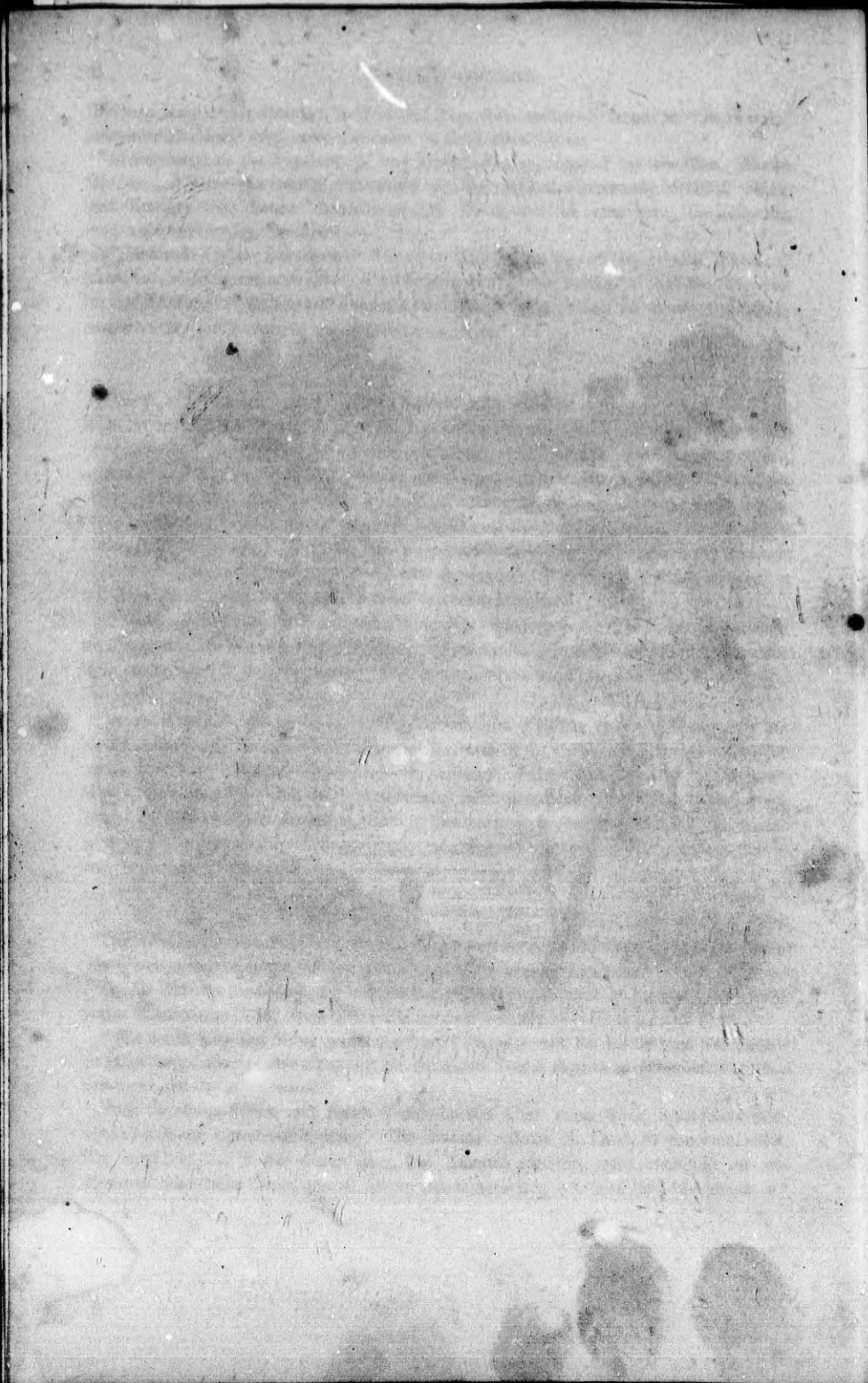
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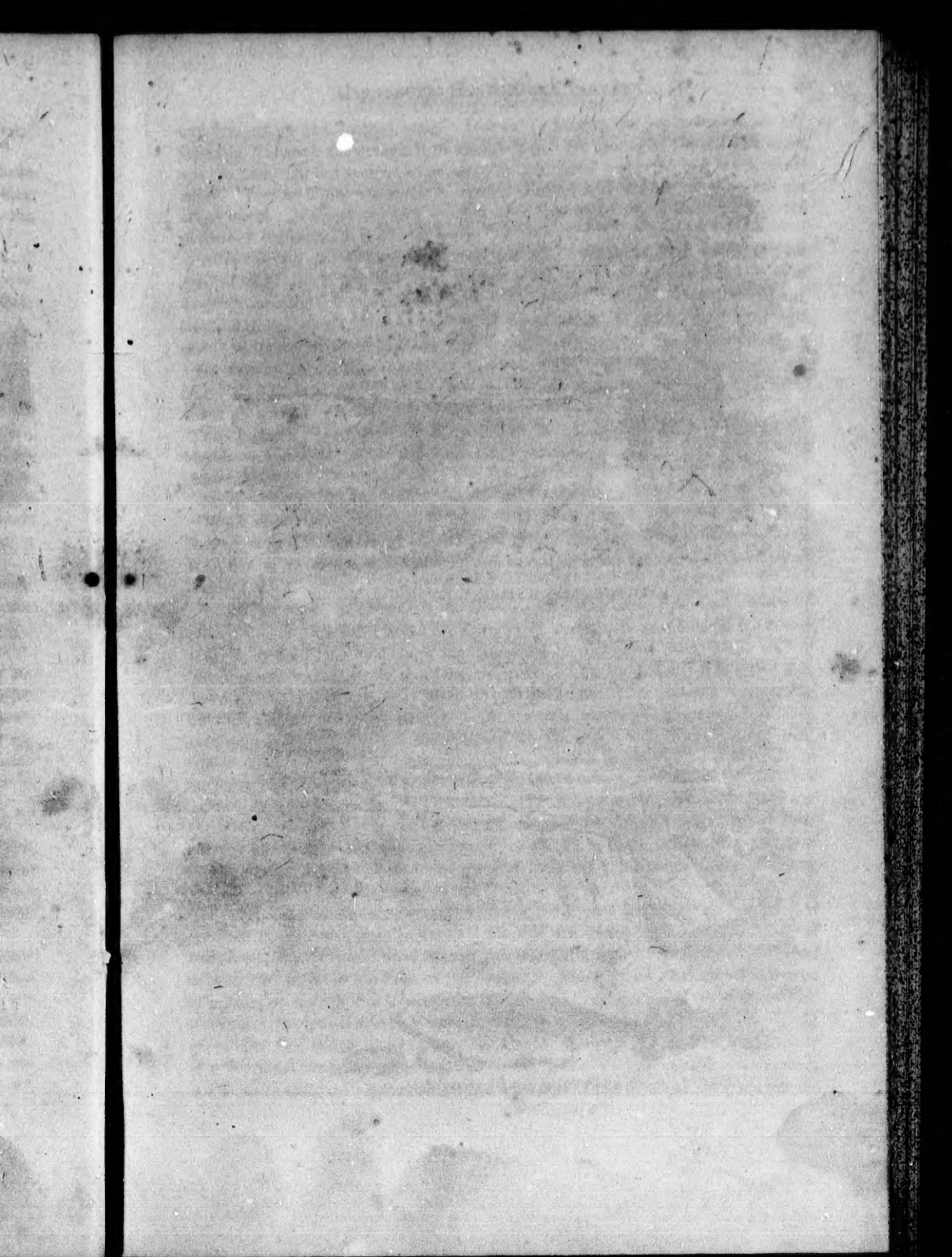
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HA-HA FALLS.







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any flesh which had touched water. Gnawed by hunger, the two perceived, as they supposed, a raccoon and pursued it to a hollow tree. On looking in, the one who could not eat flesh that had touched water, saw that the animal was a fish and not a quadruped. Turning to his companion he agreed to throw it to the ground if he was not urged to eat. Hunger, however, was imperious and forced him to break his vow and partake of the broiled fish.

After the meal, thirst usurped the place of hunger. He called for water to cool his parched tongue, until the strength of his companion failed, and he was then told to lie down by the lake and drink till his thirst was quenched. Complying with the advice, he drank and drank till at last he cried to his friend "come and look at me." The sight caused the knees of his comrade to smite together with fear, for he was fast turning to a fish. At length, he stretched himself across the Lake, and formed what is called Pike Bar. This, tradition says, is the origin of the sand bar in the Lake, which is so conspicuous at a low stage of water.

The Dakotas, having full faith in the legend, to this day call the river which is the boundary between Wisconsin and Minnesota, "THE PLACE WHERE THE FISH LIES." (Hogau-wanke-kin.)

THE FALLS OF SAINT ANTHONY.

This Fall was not named by a Jesuit as Willard says, in his History of the United States, but by a Franciscan of the Recollect order. He saw it while returning from Mille Lac, in the month of July, 1680, and named, after his patron Saint, Anthony of Padua.

In the last edition of his travels, the adventurous Father says, "the navigation is interrupted by a fall which I called St. Anthony of Padua's, in gratitude for the favors done me by the Almighty through the intercession of that great saint, whom we had chosen patron and protector of all our enterprises. This Fall is forty or fifty feet high divided in the middle by a rocky island of pyramidal form." As Hennepin was passing the Falls, in company with a party of Dakota buffalo hunters, he perceived a Dakota up in an oak opposite the great Fall weeping bitterly, with a well dressed beaver robe, whitened inside, and trimmed with porcupine quills, which he was offering as a sacrifice to the Falls, which is in itself admirable and frightful. I heard him while shedding copious tears say, as he spoke to the great cataract: "Thou who art a spirit, grant that our nation may pass her quietly without accident, may kill buffalo in abundance, conquer our enemies, and bring in slaves, some of whom we will put to death before thee; the Mes-senecqz (to this day the Dakotas call the Fox Indians by this name) have killed our kindred, grant that we may avenge them."

The only other European, during the time of the French dominion, whose account of the Falls is preserved, was Charleville. He told Du Pratz, the author of a history of Louisiana, that, with two Canadians and two Indians, in a birch canoe laden with goods, he proceeded as far as the Falls of St. Anthony. This cataract he describes as caused by a flat rock, which forms the bed of the river, and causing a fall of eight or ten feet. It was not far from a century after Hennepin saw the "curling waters," that it was gazed upon by a British subject. Jonathan Carver, a native of Connecticut, and Captain of a Provincial troop, was the Yankee who first looked on this valuable water power, and began to make calculations for further settlement. His sketch of the Falls was the

first ever taken, and was well engraved in London. He visited them in November, 1766, and his description of the surrounding scenery is very much the same as that given by modern writers:—

"The country around is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in the summer are covered with the finest verdure, and interspersed with little groves, that give a pleasing variety to the prospect. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at a distance of four (?) miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the universe."

Carver, like Hennepin, speaks of a rocky island dividing the Falls, and estimates its width about forty feet, and its length not much more, and about half way between this island and the Eastern shore, is a rock, lying at the very edge of the Fall that appeared to be about five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty long."

During the two generations that have elapsed, since this description was penned, some changes have taken place in the appearance of the Falls. The small island about forty feet broad, which is now some distance in front of the falls, was probably once in its midst. The geological character of the bed of the river is such, that an undermining process is constantly at work. The upper stratum is limestone, with many large crevices, and about fifteen feet in thickness. Beneath is the saccharoid sandstone, which is so soft, that it cannot resist the wearing of the rapid waters. It is more than probable that in an age long passed, the Falls were once in the vicinity of Fort Snelling. In the course of two years it has receded many feet. The number of pine logs that pitch over the falls, have increased the recession. As the logs float down they are driven into the fissures, and serve as levers, other logs and the water communicating the power, to wrench the limestone slabs from their localities. In time the Falls will recede until they become nothing more than rapids.

The fall of water on the West side of the dividing island, is several rods above that on the East side, and the difference is occasioned by the greater volume of water on the former side, causing a more rapid recedence.

There are two islands of great beauty in the rapids above the Falls. The first juts some feet beyond the Falls, and contains about fifteen acres. It is now generally known as Hennepin Island, not as some blunderer says in Harper's Magazine for July, 1853 because the *Jesuit father was placed there by the Indians*, but in accordance with the following suggestion, in an address before the Historical Society of Minnesota, on January 1st, 1850 :—

"As a town in the State of Illinois has already taken the name of Hennepin, which would have been so appropriate for the beautiful village of Saint Anthony, we take leave of the discoverer of those picturesque Falls, which will always render that town equally attractive to the eye of the poet and capitalist, by suggesting that the island which divides the laughing waters, be called Hennepin." A few yards above Hennepin is Nicollet Island, named after a late distinguished man of science, who has done as much as any other in developing the resources of Minnesota. It contains about forty acres, and one of the most delightful spots for a summer residence. About the middle of the island, "a small bluff rises some ten or fifteen feet high," with a slope rounded as if by the hand of art, which seems to be waiting for a handsome mansion.

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The little island once within, but now just below the Falls, is called the Spirit Island. The Dakota legend saith, that in the mist of the morning, the spirit of an Indian wife, with a child clinging around her neck, is seen darting in a canoe through the spray, and that the sound of her death song is heard moaning in the winds, and in the war of the waters. The incident has been graphically portrayed in verse by the Rev. Samuel W. Pond, formerly a missionary among that nation, now minister of the Shakopee Presbyterian church, and though the mournful ditty of the "dark day woman" is lengthy, it is worthy of perusal:—

AN-PE-TU-SA-PA-WIN.

When winter's icy reign is o'er,
And spring has set the waters free,
I love to listen to the roar
Of thy wild waves, Saint Anthony.

For, gathered here, from lake and glen,
The turbid waters deep and black,
With foaming rush and thund'ring din,
Pour down the mighty cataract.

I love to watch the rapid course
Of the mad surges at my feet,
And listen to the tumult hoarse
That shakes me in my rocky seat.

Entranced with visions strange and new,
The wild'ring scene amazed I scan,
As with a wild delight I view
Nature, unmarred by hand of man.

But go through all this earth so broad—
Go, search through mountain, vale and plain;
Each spot, where human foot e'er trod,
Is harked with memory of pain.

A sight these rugged rocks have seen,
Which scarce a rock unmoved might see,
On the hard hearts of savage men
That scene was graven indelibly.

And though since then long years have fled,
And generations passed away,
Its memory dies not with the dead—
The record yields not to decay.

No theme of love inspires my songs,
Such as might please a maiden's ear;
I sing of hate, and woe and wrong,
Of vengeance strange, and wild despair.

Unkilled to fashion, polished lays,
I sing no songs of mirth and glee,
A tale of grief, in homely phrase,
I tell you as 'twas told to me.

Long ere the white man's eye had seen
These flower-decked prairies fair and wide;
Long ere the white man's bark had been
Borne on the Mississippi tide.

So long ago, Dakotas say,
An-pe-tu-sa-pa-win was born:
Her eyes beheld these scenes so gay,
First op'ning on life's rosy morn.

I, of her childhood nothing know,
And nothing will presume to tell,
Nor of extraction high or low,
Nor whether she fared ill or well.

I know she was an Indian maid,
And fared as Indian maidens do;
In morning's light, and evening's shade,
Hardship and danger ever knew.

The flowing river she could swim,
She learned the light canoe to guide,
In it could cross the broadest stream,
Or o'er the lake securely glide.

She learned to tan the deer's tough hide—
The parchment tent could well prepare,
The bison's shaggy skin she dyed,
With art grotesque, with colors fair.

With knife of bone, she carved her food—
Fuel, with axe of stone procured—
Could fire extract from flint or wood;
To rudest savage life inured.

In kettle frail of birchen bark,
She boiled her food with heated stones;
The slippery fish, from coverts dark,
She drew with hook of jointed bones.

The prickly porcupines sharp quills
In many a quaint device she wove,
Fair gifts for those she highly prized—
Tokens of friendship or of love.

Of on the flower-enameled green,
Midst troops of youthful maidens gay,
With bounding footstep she was seen,
Striving to bear the prize away.

The Ojibway she learned to fear,
And round his scalp she danced with glee;
From his keen shaft and cruel spear,
Of was she fain to hide or flee.

Thus she with heart now sad, now gay,
Did many a wild adventure prove,
Till laughing childhood passed away,
Succeeded by the time of love.

Now, wedded to the man she loved,
Clasping her first-born infant boy,
Her swelling heart the fulness proved
Of nuptial and maternal joy.



Thus did her heart with love o'erflow,
And beat, with highest joy elate ;
But higher joy brings deeper woe,
And love deceived may turn to hate.

He, whose smile more than life she prized,
Sought newer love and fresher charms,
And she, forsaken and despised,
Beheld him in a rival's arms.

Whate'er she thought, she little said,
No tear bedimmed her flashing eye,
Her faithful tongue no thought betrayed,
Her bosom heaved no tell-tale sigh.

Long had she hid her anguish keen,
When on yon green and sloping shore,
The wild Dakotas' tents were seen,
With strange devices painted o'er.

An-pe-tu-sa-win was there,
Painting her face with colors gay,
And her loved boy wears in his hair
Feathers, as 'twere a gala-day.

Why braids she her neglected hair
As though it were her bridal day ?
Why has she decked her boy so fair
With shining paint and feathers gay ?

See ! She has seized her light canoe,
And grasps, with haste, the slender oar,
Places her baby in the bow,
And thus in silence leaves the shore.

With steady hand and tearless eye,
She urges on that frail canoe—
Right onward to those falls so high—
Right onward to the gulf below !

Her frantic friends in vain besought.
Calmly she went her fearful way,
Nor turned her head, nor heeded aught,
Of all that friend or foe might say.

All quake with horror—she alone
Betrays no sign of grief or fear :
With gentle words and soothing tone,
She strives the timid child to cheer.

The faithless husband trembling stood,
A father's feelings checked his breath,
His son is on that raging flood—
So full of life—so near to death !

The quiv'ring bark like lightning flies.
Urged by the waves and bending oar,
No swifter could she seek the prize
Were death behind and life before.

The fearful brink is just at hand,
And thitherward she holds the bow.
See eager Death exulting stand ;
No power on earth can save her now !

And now she raises her death-song
Above the tumult shrill and clear :
Yet may she not the strains prolong,
The fatal verge is all too near.

The song has ceased—the dark abyss,
Swallows with haste its willing prey ;
The bubbling waters round them hiss,
Mother and child have passed away.

The fragments of the shattered bark,
The boiling waves restored to view,
But she and hers, in caverns dark
Found rest, though where, none ever knew.

Yet that death-song, they say, is heard
Above the gloomy waters roar,
When trees are by the night wind stirred,
And darkness broods o'er wave and shore !

In haste, and with averted-eye,
Benighted travelers passeth by,
And when that song of death they hear,
Stout hearted warriors quake with fear !

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The Falls on the west side of Hennepin Island, dashing themselves against the huge slabs of lime stone, approach to grandeur, and are well represented in the engraving.

A mill-dam having been thrown across the Mississippi from the East side to the island, the waters creep over the ledge very quietly, and the beholder experiences disappointment.*

CHAPTER I.

WHO WERE THE FIRST MEN ?

BY REV. T. S. WILLIAMSON, M. D., DAKOTA MISSIONARY.

WHEREVER civilized men dwell they inquire with interest, who were the first inhabitants of the country, and where did they come from ? To contribute our mite toward the solution of this query in regard to Minnesota is the object of this paper.

The first Europeans who entered this Territory, subsequent to the time of Columbus found the Dakotas or Sioux as they called them, occupying most of that part of it which lies East of the Mississippi as well as that part watered by this river and the Minnesota. Charlevoix informs us that about the year 1680, two Frenchmen, after having wintered on the borders of Lake Superior, went further, even to the Sioux. These seem to have been the first Europeans who visited the Dakotas, and also, the first who entered what is now Minnesota Territory. It is not easy nor is it important to determine the exact point at which these two men found the Sioux. It is sufficient for us to know that it was somewhere in this Territory, and it is highly probable that it was near Spirit Lake or Knife Lake, near which Hennepin found them about twenty years later.

From what was written on this subject by Hennepin, La Hontan, Le Sueur, and Charlevoix, and from the maps published under the superintendence of these authors, it is sufficiently clear that in the latter part of the seventeenth century the principal residence of the Isanyati Sioux, that is of the Mdewakantonwan Warpetonwan, and Sissetonwan, (called by Hennepin Chongasketons, and by La Hontan, Songasketons) was about the head waters of Rum River, whence they extended their hunts to the St. Croix, and Mississippi rivers and down the latter nearly or quite as far as the mouth of the Wisconsin. The Tetonwan called by Hennepin Tintonha hunted Westward of these, between the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, and to the west and south of the latter. The Ihanktonwan were chiefly to the north of the Isanyati and Tetonwan. A part of them, however, were to the Southwest of the Tetonwan, for Le Sueur, the most reliable of all the writers concerning these matters, places the Hinhanetons in the neighborhood of the Red pipe-stone quarry. The Assiniboin, called by the other Dakotas Hoheh, who, not long anterior to the time of which we are speaking, had separated

*In place of "his" History of the United States, on page 5, read "her."

from the Ihanktonwan, hunted to the North of the Sioux and of Lake Superior. A century later, the situation of these Indians was not very different, though they had all moved Westwardly. Within the last hundred years, most of them have proceeded much farther in the same direction.

We think it is sufficiently manifest that the Sioux occupied the better part of Minnesota when Europeans entered it, a little after the middle of the seventeenth century. It does not, however, appear that they were the first, much less the only inhabitants of the country. Their common and most reliable traditions inform us, that when their ancestors first came to the Falls of Saint Anthony, the Iowas—whom they call Ayuhba (Drowzy)—occupied the country about the mouth of the Minnesota river, and the Shiens, called by the Dakotas Sha-i-ena, sometimes written by the French Chaienne, and by others Shienne, dwelt higher up on the same river. We cannot pretend to determine with certainty at what time the Sioux first came to the Falls of Saint Anthony; but may say with confidence, it was a long time ago, probably before the discovery of America by Columbus. One of the best informed men concerning their traditions that I have met with among the Dakotas, who has been dead more than ten years, when questioned on this point, told me, that they supposed it to be at least equal to the lifetime of four old men, who should live one after the other; and as an example of an old man, named his father, who, I suppose, was at the time at least eighty years old.

The Winnebagoes, Otoes, and Omahaws, have been named among the nations driven by the ancestors of the Dakotas from the Minnesota valley. I have not found any evidence, satisfactory to my mind, that the Winnebagoes ever had a home in this Territory prior to their late removal into it by the United States Government. As respects the Otoes and Omahaws, it seems not improbable that they were reckoned as a part of the Dakota nation, when the Sioux first hunted on the banks of the Mississippi, and for some time after. The Anthontantas, mentioned as a part of the Nadouesiouz, by Hennepin, were probably the same people as the Otocatas, mentioned in connection with the Ayavois, as owners of the country about Blue Earth river, in the fragment of Le Sueur, preserved by La Harpe, and again some further on, as having recently left their village in that neighborhood, and settled near the Mahas, on the Missouri river, and it is highly probable that the Otocatas of Le Sueur, are the same people now called Ottoes or Otoes. The Mawhaws, Shiens and Schiannesse, are mentioned by Carver, as bands of the Naudowessieux of the plains. Thus it appears that the Shiens, the Iowas,* the Omahaws and the Ottoes, were the earliest inhabitants of Minnesota of whom we have any written or certain traditional account. I have neither seen nor heard of any artificial mounds, ancient fortifications, or monuments of any kind in or near the Minnesota valley, which might not have been constructed by these Indians. Such mounds are probably as numerous in the lower part of the valley of the Minnesota, and the contiguous part of the Mississippi, as anywhere else between

* The Iowas, in the days of Charlevoix, appear to have lived not far from the Red Pipe stone quarry. This historian describing the pipe of peace in use among all of the Indians of North America, remarks: "It is ordinarily made of a species of red marble, very easily worked, and found beyond the Mississippi among the Aïouez" (Iowas). Hist. Nouvelle France, vol. 3. page 211. (E. D. N.)

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the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains; but they are very small, compared with those near the Ohio, not to speak of those farther South. Some of them are still used by the Dakotas, as burying places for their dead, and in this way are receiving a small increase almost every year.

The situation of many others indicates that they had a similar origin. But by far the most numerous class appear from their size and situation, to be what Dakota tradition says they are, the remains of houses, made of poles and bark, covered with earth, such as were a few years since, and probably still are, the habitations of the Mandans, and some other tribes living on the Missouri, and also of the inhabitants of New Caledonia, as described by Harmon. Mounds of this class are found in clusters, of from less than half a dozen to upwards of fifty, arranged irregularly as we find the bark houses of the Indians at present. Their base usually approaches to an oval form. Their length is from ten to forty feet, and a few exceed this, with a height of from one or two feet, to three or four. Very few of this class exceed four feet; though some of those used for places of sepulture are more than twice that height. Back of them we find the land level, or nearly so, dry and fertile. In front it descends towards some water, and almost always there is a lake or morass in sight, indicating that the inhabitants depended for a subsistence partly on cultivating the earth, and partly on water fowl or roots, which they obtained from wet swampy land. Several clusters of such mounds may be seen about Oak Grove, where the Dakotas say the Iowas lived, when their ancestors first came to this country. The path from Mendota to Shakopee, or Prairieville, passes through several. One large one, a little south of what has been called Blackdog's or Greyiron's village, where the Iowas are said to have resided after they were driven from Oak Grove. Another is not far from the Tamarack swamp below Shakopee. Many may be found on the bluffs of the Mississippi and Lake Pepin. Such mounds are very numerous in the prairie near the mouth of Cannon river.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Iowas, whose language shows that they are descended from the same stock as the Dakotas, should have been viewed and treated by the Dakotas as enemies. While the Shiens, who Gallatin says have a language kindred to the Algonquin, were received as allies, and though speaking a different language were long, if they are not still counted as a part of the Dakota nation. Hence their name, Sha-i-e-na in the Ihanktonwan dialect, being equivalent to Sha-i-api in the Isanyati, both applied to those who speak a different language from the Dakotas, and applied especially to Shiens, because all others speaking a different language were counted as enemies. It is also worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the hostility between the Iowas and Sioux, the former who are called by latter Ayukba, (they sleep, or sleepy ones,) from which we probably got Iowa, remain much nearer their original location than the Shiens, or any of the other tribes, who dwelt in the Minnesota valley before the Dakotas.

When the Dakotas first came in contact with the Shiens, I have not been able to learn, farther than that the Shiens formerly planted on the Minnesota, between Blue Earth and Lac qui Parle, whence they moved to a Western branch of Red river of the North, which still bears their name; being called by the Dakotas who hunt in that region, Shai-e-na wojupi, (the place where those of another language plant.) The various spellings of this name, all show plainly their origin from the Dakota name. From this

planting place on the Chaienne, or Shienne of the North, this people removed across the Missouri, where they gave their name to another river ; and having ceased to cultivate the soil, it is said they now hunt on the head waters of the Platte and of the Arkansas. From their retiring so rapidly, it is probable that the Shiens had not occupied the Minnesota valley long before the arrival of the Dakotas, and that the first inhabitants of it, if not the Iowas, were Otoes Omahaws, or some other family of the Dakota stock. The languages of the tribes just named, as well as of the Winnebagoes and Osages, are so similar to the Dakota, as to indicate a common origin. In the languages of the Mandans Minetares and Crows or Upsarokas, so many Dakota words have been found, as to render it highly probable, that they also, in part at least, belong to the same stock.* Whatever shall establish the origin of any one of these tribes, will go far towards doing the same in regard to the others. As the Sioux were undoubtedly the principal occupants of the Territory when visited by Hennepin, and as we know more of them than of the others, our subsequent remarks will have special reference to the Dakotas.

Various circumstances, some of which we would here mention, but for the apprehension that by so doing, this paper would be extended to an undue length, indicate that the Sioux resided long in the region where Hennepin found them. Many of them suppose that they originated there. They have a tradition however, that their ancestors came thither from the Northeast, where they had resided on a lake. It has been generally supposed, that this lake referred to in this tradition, is Rainy Lake, or Lake of the Woods. It is more probable however, that it was the Northern shore of Lake Superior, or Hudson's Bay, or some of the lakes between those large expanses of water. The Ojibwas have a tradition, that their ancestors drove the Sioux from the shores of Lake Superior. This tradition is corroborated by the name of the Ojibwas in the Dakota language Hahaton-wan, signifies dwellers at the Falls, and corresponds in sense with sauteur, applied to the same people it is said, because of their former residence at the Saut or Falls of Saint Marie. They were probably residing there, and the Sioux hunting and fishing on the shores of Lake Superior, when this name was first given to them.

CHAPTER II.

AN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

IN THIS CHAPTER IS PRESENTED THE ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR RAMSEY, AT THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN JANUARY, 1851, OCCASIONED BY HIS TAKING THE CHAIR AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

IT may seem a strange thing, even to some among our own citizens, and still stranger to people elsewhere, that an *Historical Society* should have been formed in this Terri-

* The ancient Arkansas seem to have belonged to the Dakota family. A letter published in Kip's Jesuit Mission, written by a Missionary at the mouth of the Arkansas, in October, 1727, speaks of "a river which the Indians call Ni ska (Minne ska) or White Water." Again : "They place the hand upon the mouth, which is a sign of admiration among them." Ouakan tague they cry out, "It is the Great Spirit." They said probably, Wakan de. This is wonderful. (E.D.N.)

tory less than a year after its organization, when its history was apparently but a few months old, when the wilderness was, as it is yet, around us, when the smoke of Indian lodges still intercept our view of the horizon, when our very name was so new, that men disputed as to its orthography, and formed parties in contesting its literal meaning.

An *Historical Society* in a land of yesterday ! Such an announcement would indeed naturally excite at the first glance, incredulity and wonder in the general mind. Well might it be exclaimed, "the country which has *no past*, can have no history;" with force could it be asked "*where* are your *records*?" and if we have them, it would not be surprising if it were still demanded, "what those records could possibly record?—what negotiations?—what legislation?—what progress in arts or intellect could they possibly exhibit?" "Canst thou gather figs from thorns, or grapes from thistles?"

True, pertinent as such queries might seem, yet nevertheless they would be dictated by error—they would be founded in great misapprehension; for Minnesota has a history, and that not altogether an unwritten one, which can unravel many a page of deep, engrossing interest; which is rich in tales of daring enterprise, of faithful endurance of high hopes; which is marked by the early travellers' foot-prints, and by the ancient explorer's pencil; which is glowing with the myths and traditions of our aboriginal race, sprinkled over with the *wah-kaun* stones of their teeming mythology.

In Europe, nigh two hundred years ago, as in America at this day, Minnesota—I mean that region which is around and about us—was a land towards which many an eye was turned, and in regard to which fact and fancy wove a wondrous tale of interest and romance. In consequence of this, from the time when Father *Pierre Menard*, the devoted Jesuit Missionary, was lost in the forest in 1658 while crossing Kee-wee-pah Peninsula, and his sad fate conjectured only from his cassock and breviary, long afterwards found preserved as "Medicine" charms, amongst the wild Dakotas of our Territory, down to the time when Schoolcraft, in 1832, traced our giant Mississippi—a giant more wonderful than the hundred armed Briareus—to its origin in the gushing fountains of Itasca Lake, Minnesota has continued a favorite field of research, the bourne of many a traveller, and the theme of many a traveller's story.

Here Hennepin, in 1680, was first to break the silence of these Northern wilds with a white man's voice, in giving to the foaming waters of St. Anthony's Falls their baptismal name in honor of his patron saint. Here was the scene of his captivity among the M'day-wah-kaun-twan Dakotas, and here he experienced the compassion and protection of Wah-zee-koo-tay, the great Nahdawessey chief.

More reliable than Hennepin, the gallant Le Sueur, a brave, enterprising and truthful spirit, in 1700 explored the *sky-colored water* of the Minnesota to its Blue Earth tributary, and in the vicinity of his log fort L'Huillier, on the banks of the Mahnkahto, first broke the virgin soil of our territory with the spade and pick-axe, in delving for copper ore, tons of which, or a green earth supposed to be the ore of that metal, he had conveyed to his native France. He it was, also, who appears to have been the first white man or trader, that supplied the "Scioux" and "Aiavvis" (Ioways) with products of civilized labor; and to his truthful and generally accurate Journal, (but recently brought to our knowledge by the indefatigable researches of our fellow-member, the Rev. Mr. Neill,) we are likewise indebted for the best statistics we possess of the early history of the Dakota race, which then, fully a century and a half ago, as now, occupied the greater portion of our Territory.

Following Le Sueur, after a considerable interval, came Captain Jonathan Carver, in 1776, and however extravagant we may regard some of his statements, and however discreditable we may deem his efforts to engross millions of acres, including nearly all the inhabited portion of Minnesota, and the very land upon which our town stands, by a pretended deed of gift from the Indians, still we must concede him to have been an adventurer of no mean courage and enterprise, and his narrative a valuable link in the chain of our early annals.

Still later, and within the present century, Cass and Schoolcraft, Nicollet and Fremont, Long and Keating, have visited and explored our land; and Pike, too, the heroic Zebulon Pike, who in 1802, during the "Expedition to the Upper Mississippi," of which he has presented so admirable a narrative, gave promise of that fortitude, courage and determination, which marked him throughout a glorious career, until his mangled body surrendered up his noble spirit, happy in the triumph of his country's flag, on the plains of Canada.

These are our records—these, in part, our historiographers. Their works form stepping stones, across at least that portion of the river of time, which in this region, for about two hundred years, has rolled its tide occasionally within view of the white race. The gaps between, it is not unfitly our duty and the object of this society, to lessen and to close up.

The materials for this purpose are not scarce, though somewhat difficult to embody in a tangible or reliable form. Not a foot of ground that we tread, but has been trod by nations before us. Wild tribes of men have marched their armies over the site of our towns and fields—fierce battles have been fought where ere long churches may rear their spires—our ploughshares may turn furrows amidst the graves of buried races, and our children play, perhaps, where generations of children have played centuries before them. Dakota and Ojibway, Shiann and Ausinabwaun, Winnebago and Ioway, Ozaukie and Musquakie, each, in turn or together, dwelt in the land, hunted and warred through it, migrated to and from it. When the first Jesuit missionary, one hundred and ninety years ago, visited Lake Superior, he found the Chippewas and Sioux engaged in that war, which has continued, with but little intermission, nearly to the present time. How long before—for how many centuries previous, this contest was waged, we know not—the records are dim, the traditions vague and uncertain. But we do know, that from the St. Croix to the Mille Lacs, the ancient home of the M'day-wah-kaantwan Sioux, whose rich maple bottoms are a golgotha of hostile bones, through all the midland hunting grounds to Lake Superior, and Northwest by wild rice shallows, to the fertile lands of Red Lake (whose waters have so often drank blood from battles on its shores as to have gained the ensanguined cognomen which we mildly translate "Red,") we can trace the terrible results of this warfare of the Algonquin and Dakota races,—a warfare which in its results completed that general disruption of all the old geographical relations of the various tribes of Minnesota, which the Dakotas, perhaps, were the first to disarrange when they located on the Upper Mississippi.

The incidents of this war—the battles, where fought—the victories, where and by whom won—the councils held and alliances formed—the advances, the retreats, and the final conquests—are among the inquiries which this society will consider not unworthy

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of instituting. By comparison of the records—by ascertaining corroborating traditions—we can likewise endeavor to fix the period when the fire-arms and iron tomahawk, which their fur trade with the French early placed in the hands of the Chippewas, proved too powerful for the flint-headed arrows, and wooden war clubs of the ancient Sioux; and when, in consequence, the M'day-wahkawn-twauna moved down from their villages on Mille Lacs, and the Teetwaun, Yaunktwaun, and Seseetwaun Council Fires, struck their tents, abandoned their homes upon the Upper Mississippi, and invaded the Western buffalo plains where they now reside, sweeping before them the Shians and other tribes who were then in possession of them.

A subject for our investigation, scarcely less interesting, is the history of that revolted branch of the Dakota family proper, who in their own language are called the Hoh-hays, but who are known to us only by their Chippewa name of Assin-abwauna, or Stone Sioux, from their former residence among the rocky ledges about the Lake of the Woods, named by the Jesuits in their maps, more than a century and a half ago, Lake of the Assineboins. The causes which led to, and the period at which occurred, the disruption of the ties of brotherhood, which extinguished one of the grand Council Fires of the Dakota race, and allied its elements with the Algonquin enemy against the parent tribe—whether it originated, as has been said, in a second Helen and a second Paris, like the guilty pair, whose guilty flight lighted the torch of discord among the Pelasgian tribes of Greece, and led to the destruction of Troy—or whether other reasons operated to produce the fratricidal contest—it might be well to determine,—as well as the time at which they too migrated Westward, but in a more Northern line, towards the White Earth and Yellow Stone tributaries of the Missouri.

Nor would it be foreign to the object of this association, to question into the degree of credit to be attached to the M'day-wah-kaun-twaun tradition, which assigns to the Ioways, the former possession of the St. Peters river country to its mouth, where they were found by the Dakotas and driven Southwest; and to what extent this tradition is confirmed by the probable fact, that in 1700, when Le Sueur visited the Mahnkah-toh, the Ioways yet held the lands in this Territory about the head waters of the Des Moines, from which, subsequently to this time, we know they must have been further driven by the Sioux, low down on that river; and whether, also, this last retrogression was not immediately occasioned by that Western invasion of the Dakotas of the Upper Mississippi, which has already been alluded to.

Another inquiry which suggests itself pregnant with equal interest, is as to the probability, or otherwise, that this expulsion of the Ioways from the Minnesota, caused the separation from them into distinct bands or tribes, of the Otoes, Omahas and Winnebagoes, who are unquestionably of the same origin with the Ioways, and that too, not very remotely—if, as I understand, they all speak one language, with slight differences of pronunciation, the result of isolation, but which differences do not prevent their readily comprehending each other—and in this connection, likewise, we may with propriety discuss the probability of the conjecture that the Winnebagoes, at the separation, were but a band of a few families of Ioways, who, escaping from the Dakota invasion, Eastward, instead of Southwest, settled at the head of Green Bay, where, near two hundred years since, their village—still a small one—was found by Marquette, who de-

signates in his map the Bay, as the *Baye des Puans*, and the village as that of the *Puans*.

Here, surrounded by Algonquin tribes, the hereditary enemies of their enemy, they were safe from molestation by the Upper Dakotas; and in the progress of time, the Hoh-tchungk-grahe, (as they call themselves,) growing strong with continued peace, and increasing gradually in numbers, spread themselves without opposition over a considerable extent of country to the Southward, presenting finally to the eyes of men of science, that anomaly which has puzzled even the historian Bancroft, to account for—an outlier of the great Pawnee Dakota group of tribes, situated far towards the East, and entirely amongst the Algonquin family of tribes, with whose cognate languages, theirs has not the slightest affinity.

Dwelling thus upon the origin of tribes, it may not be out of place to refer to the prevalent opinion among men, who have investigated the subject, that the Chippewas who are spread over the Northern portion of this Territory and Wisconsin, are emigrants from the East since the discovery of America; and that the Sioux who in ancient times occupied the exact position that the former do now, first knew these indomitable enemies as did the earliest white men who visited them, as dwellers at the Falls of St. Mary, of Lake Superior. As Hrah-hrah-twauns, or people of the Falls, is the Dakota proper name for them, just as *Sauteurs*, having the same signification, is that bestowed upon them by the French, the opinion that they came from the East or North, crossing from the Canada side by the Falls, is not without plausibility to sustain it.

I have thrown out these hints, embodying speculations and theories, to be sure, but speculations nevertheless that are not uninteresting, which may stimulate to research, and I hope eliminate some facts from the chaotic oblivion in which our aboriginal history is covered up. But while attending to these, I would not that we should forget the more tangible objects for which we are associated. A library that shall embrace works upon American history, in all its branches; that shall gather upon its shelves, the narratives of early and later travellers to this and other portions of the great West; that shall be rich in archaeology and ethnology; that in books upon the science of languages, and in vocabularies of our aboriginal dialects, shall present an inviting field for the student in comparative philology—such a library we should endeavor to collect and preserve. Nor must we rest content with availing ourselves of the labor of others. There is much for each of us individually to do. A great deal that is worth preserving is yet unwritten. While the Indians are within our reach, we should hasten to record their traditions, to describe their manners and customs, their religious rites, their domestic observances, their peculiarities in peace and war; we should seize the opportunity as well to sketch some of the beautiful, and often most elaborately constructed legends, which like that concerning the huge man-fish which spanned the mouth of the St. Croix and dammed its waters, or that of Mannebosh, the Thunderer of Lake Superior, invest with a spiritual interest nearly every lake and river, and prominent landmark of the country.

In tracing the origin of the Indian races around us, we should not overlook the necessity of preserving their languages, as most important guides in this interesting, though perhaps unavailing pursuit. It must be evident to all, that they are destined to pass

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away with the tribes who speak them, unless by vocabularies we promptly arrest their extinction. The Dakota language proper—thanks to the arduous labors of the Messrs. Pond, Riggs and Williamson, the devoted missionaries among them, is in no danger of being lost—an elaborate Dictionary of fifteen thousand words and a Grammar, attest the extent of their labors, and are evidences that any work by members of this association in that direction would be superfluous. But there are other tribes whose dialects will continue to remain, in a great measure, unwritten ones, if some among us do not voluntarily assume the task of lexicographers, as I trust some will.

While thus endeavoring to secure the fleeting memorials of the *red* nations who have played their parts on this division of the world's great stage, it should not escape our recollection, that the white pioneers of the Northwest, who for many a year have toiled and struggled with the difficulties of the wilderness—men of intelligence, and energy and fortitude—have likewise tales to tell which are not unimportant links in our annals. We cordially invite these to contribute their quota to our local history, and shall be equally obliged to them or to others for contributions to our Museum, in which we design collecting samples of the domestic manufactures, utensils, arms, dress and relics, peculiar to the old inhabitants of the land.

Institutions like ours, elevate the character of our young Territory in the eyes of friends abroad, and in the estimation of men of character and science, more than would the golden sands of California, if we possessed them. Let us not forfeit their good opinion by either becoming discouraged in the path we have marked out, or neglecting to do all in our power to *work* out the plan under which we are associated.

Each member should consider it his duty to contribute something to the common stock, and not rest content with permitting or asking a few only to sustain the institution by their labors. History is said to be philosophy teaching by example; and if this be so, historical societies may be characterized as the retorts in which the elements of that philosophy are collected and combined. We should be careful then, not to allow our retort to explode from want of attention, nor to collapse for want of aliment, lest our future should derive no instruction from philosophical deductions on the events of our not uninteresting, though somewhat mythical and traditionary past.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY NOTICES OF THE DAKOTAS.

By EDWARD D. NEILL.

THE history of any one nation of the Aborigines of America is to be written. Our materials of information are a "rude and undigested mass," locked up in old public documents or the recent issues of Congress.

The mere narratives of hurried travellers, like La Hontan, of a past, and Lanman, of a more recent period, the "Jew Apella may believe," but they can never be looked upon as standards, or guides to the dwellers in future cities on Indian hunting grounds.

In the hope that it may lead some one to prepare a full history, we have collected in the present article,

EARLY NOTICES OF THE DAKOTAS.

The region around the vast lakes of North America, that supply the river Saint Lawrence, was partially explored before the emigrants of the Mayflower ever trod on New England soil. While Massachusetts was an "incognita terra" to the "savans" of Europe, the French had gained an inkling of the Mediterranean of America, Lake Superior, and the rapids of St. Mary. In the map of Champlain, issued but a few years after his explorations in the Northwest, there appear both of these, the former as "Grand Lac," the latter as "Gaston Rapid"; also a grand river flowing from the lake toward the South, which was probably made to represent the Mississippi, of which dim rumors had been heard from the Indians he met on the shores of Lake Huron.

The first mention that we have of the Dakota family of Indians, is by Nicollet, a public man that had been sent by the government at Quebec, to treat with tribes in the neighborhood of Green Bay, Wisconsin, as early as 1689, the year that the settlers of New-Haven formed themselves into a body politic. This adventurous man visited the Ounipegou (Winnebago) tribe, according to him "a people called so because they came from a distant sea, but whom some French erroneously called Puants."*

He appears moreover to have extended his tour to the head of the Fox even to the waters of the Wisconsin.

Two years elapse, and in 1641, Jogues and Raymbault, of the "Society of Jesus," after a journey of seventeen days, in frail barks over tempestuous waves, arrive at the barrier of rocks that prevented the safe passage of the birch canoe into Lake Superior, and then at the Falls of Saint Mary, they learned from the Ojibways, whom they came to visit, of the existence of a powerful nation, now correctly called Dakotas, but frequently the Sioux.

The Ojibways informed the Jesuits that the Dakotas lived eighteen days journey to the West. "Thus," says Bancroft, in his well known chapter on Jesuit Missions, "did the religious zeal of the French bear the cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and look wistfully toward the home of the Sioux, in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the apostle Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwell within six miles of Boston Harbor."

Those in the service of Mammon outrun those in the service of God. The "*insacer fumes auri*" is more impelling than the sacred love for souls. Hence, the trader has ever been the forerunner of the missionary in savage lands.

In 1654, two young men, connected with the fur trade, accompanied a party of Indians on their hunting excursions, and were probably the first white men who entered the present Territory of Minnesota, and visited the Dakotas.

Before we advance, it is proper to state that the Dakotas were called by the early French writers "Nadouechiouek," "Nadouessi," "Nadsuessionek," and subsequently "Scioux," or "Sioux." The Ojibway word for an enemy is Nadouaisi, the plural of which is Nadouaisioug. The Dakotas were to them their enemies above all others, and they are at this day, and whenever they spoke of them, they designated them as such. The voyageur in time, abbreviated the word into Sioux.

Charlevoix who visited Green Bay in 1721, in his great work on New France, pre-

* Quoted by Shea in Exploration and Discovery of the Mississippi.

pared by order of Louis XIV., says: "The name of Sioux, that we give to these Indians, is entirely of our own making, or rather it is but the last two syllables of the name of Nadouessioux, as many nations call them."

In a copy of the Relations of the Jesuits for 1657-8 which we find in the State Library at Albany, there is the following mention: "Des Nadouechiouck, a trente cinq lieues on environ du lac Alimibeg, se nomme la nation des Assinipoulak, cest a dire les guerriers de pierre."

After the conquest and almost complete extermination of the Hurons by the Iroquois, a portion of the wandering Hurons found a temporary resting place in the lodges of the Dakotas, between the Falls of St. Anthony and Lake Superior.

About the year 1659, two French traders who had wintered around the shore of Lake Superior visited a village of Hurons, that had once dwelt among the Dakotas. Having claimed superiority on account of their knowledge of fire-arms, they taunted and maltreated those who had received them when they were outcasts and fleeing from the warlike Iroquois.

At last provoked beyond endurance the once friendly Dakotas decoyed a large number into a rice marsh, and pierced to death, many, with their primitive, but effective stone tipped arrows.

The remnant of the Hurons fled to Chegoimegon, now known as La Pointe where the traders appear to have met them.

Pushing beyond, the Frenchmen wandered into the Dakota land and saw some Dakota women with the tips of their noses cut off and heads partly scalped, and were informed that this was the penalty inflicted upon adulteresses.

In the summer of 1660, the traders returned to Quebec, with sixty canoes manned by Algonquins, and laden with beaver, fox and buffalo robes.

The narrative of these men was received with enthusiasm, and the Jesuits longed to plant the cross beside the banner of France in the villages of the new found nation of Dakotas.

The Ojibway tradition agrees with the statement of early French writers that traders preceded missionaries along the shores of Lake Superior.

From an intelligent native of La Pointe, lately deceased, the following tradition of the appearance of the whites at the head of Lake Superior was obtained: "While the Ojibways were dwelling on La Pointe, a party of lads who were spearing fish through holes in the ice, discovered a smoke arising from the Eastern extremity of the island, which was then seldom visited. Proceeding in that direction, they found in a rough cabin, two white men in the last stages of starvation. Coasting the lake late in the fall, they had been driven by the ice on to the island, and not knowing that any human beings were near, they had almost perished, and had at the time of the discovery, saith the tradition, been reduced to the necessity of roasting and eating their clothes and blankets."

At the receipt of the tale of the voyageurs Lallemand, the Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec, longed to be an "angel" of glad tidings to the tribes of the great Lake, but his presence in the town could not be spared.

The pioneer selected to be the cross bearer to the barbarians dwelling round about Lake Superior was Rene Menard.

He was a man whitened and ripened by age; of large experience and long acquaintance with the peculiarities of the Indian character, he was admirably adapted for the mission.

Previous to his departure from Three Rivers (Trois Rivières) he wrote the following note to his Superior.

"MY REVEREND FATHER:—The peace of Christ be with you: I write to you probably the last, and which I hope will be the seal of our friendship until eternity. Love whom the Lord Jesus did not disdain to love, though the greatest of sinners, for he loves whom he loads with his cross. Let your friendship, my good Father, be useful to me, by the desirable fruits of your daily sacrifice.

"In three or four months, you may remember me at the memento for the dead, on account of my old age, my weak constitution, and the hardships I lay under amongst these tribes. Nevertheless I am in peace, for I have not been led to this mission by any temporal motive; but I think it was by the voice of God. I was to resist the grace of God, by not coming here. Eternal remorse would have tormented me, had I not come when I had the opportunity.

"We have been a little surprised, not being able to provide ourselves with vestments and other things; but he who feeds the little birds and clothes the lilies of the fields, will take care of his servants, and though it should happen, we should die with want, we would esteem ourselves happy. I am loaded with affairs. What I can do is to recommend our journey, to your daily sacrifices, and to embrace you with the same sentiments of heart, as I hope to do in eternity.

My reverend Father,

Your most humble and affectionate servant in Jesus Christ,

R. MENARD.

From the Three Rivers,
This 26th August, 2 o'clock after midnight, 1660. }

Accompanied by a band of Ottawas, the aged priest started the next day, for the far West. His journey was beset with trials. At one time ridiculed by his wild companions, and at another reduced to the extremity of living on pounded bones. On the 15th of October, 1660 he reached a bay on Lake Superior, one hundred leagues West of the rapids of Saint Mary. For more than eight months, surrounded by a few French voyageurs, and many savages, he dwelt, to use his own language, "in a kind of small hermitage, a cabin built of fir branches piled on one another, not so much to shield me from rigor of the season, as to correct my imagination and persuade me that I was sheltered."

On the return of spring he was prompted to attempt a visit to the Hurons, who after being expelled by the Dakotas had settled at Chegoimegon or La Pointe.

On the 20th of August, 1661, while John Guerin, a faithful comrade was making a portage with the canoe, Menard entered the woods. Guerin, in much distress, called for him at the top of his voice, discharged his gun, and searched the forest, but Menard's form was undiscovered.

A century ago the report was current that some years after he disappeared, his cassock and prayer-book were found in a Dakota lodge, and viewed by the possessors as "wakan" or supernatural.

Though the loss of Menard saddened, it did not deter the Jesuits from the attempt to plant missions among the tribes towards the Western extremity of Lake Superior.

On the first of May, 1665, a successor, Allouez had arrived at the Rapids of Saint

Mary and the first day of October, his birch canoe grated on the sands of Chegoimegon (La Pointe.)

His first introduction was to a council of Ojibways called to arrange a war party against their then ancient enemies, the Dakotas.

At this point he found also Sauks, Illinois and Pottawattomies, and as it appeared to be a general Algonquin rendezvous, he decided to make it a mission station, and named it that of "the Holy Spirit."

In a little while, amid the rude lodges, there arose a frail and humble chapel dedicated to the Holy Spirit.

In excursions along the Minnesota, even to the North shore of the Lake, he occasionally met bands of Dakotas, but could not converse, on account of ignorance of their language.

But in his letters he speaks of "Nadouessiouk," and says "they live on the great Mississippi," and this is the first mention in history of that stream, now the world renowned Mississippi.

In 1669 the distinguished Marquette succeeded Allouez in the charge of the mission at La Pointe; writing from the mission of the Holy Spirit Marquette describes the Dakotas in these words.

"The Nadouessi are the Iroquois of this country, beyond La Pointe, but less faithless and never attack till attacked.

They lie Southwest of the mission of the Holy Spirit, and we have not yet visited them, having confined ourselves to the conversion of the Ottawas.

Their language is entirely different from the Huron and Algonquin; they have many villages, but are widely scattered; they have very extraordinary customs; they principally use the calumet; they do not speak at great feasts, and when a stranger arrives give him to eat of a wooden fork, as we would a child.

"All the lake tribes make war on them, but with small success; they have false oats (wild rice), use little canoes, and keep their word strictly. I sent them a present by an interpreter, to tell them to recognize the Frenchman everywhere, and not to kill him or the Indians in his company; that the black gown wishes to pass to the country of the Assinipouars (Assiniboines) and to that or the Kilistinaux (Cnisteneaux); that he was already with the Outagamis (Foxes), and that I was going this fall to the Illinois, to whom they should leave a free passage.

"They agreed, but as for my present waited till all came from the chase, promising to come to La Pointe in the fall, to hold a council with the Illinois and speak with me. Would that all these nations loved God as they feared the French."

To La Pointe the Dakotas came, but not to converse with Marquette in relation to the Prince of Peace. Brandishing their long stone knives, with the dreadful whoop of war, and in their nakedness they sprang upon their enemies and drove them from the extremity of the lake. In a few months, the chapel of the Holy Spirit was invisible, the lodges of the Algonquins were taken down, Marquette and the Huron band had departed in their canoes, never to return to Lake Superior, and pitched their tents at Mackinaw.

Shea in the "History of the Catholic Missions" relates a conflict between the Sioux and Algonquins, at the Falls of Saint Mary, at a later day.

"In 1674 Father Drulillet beheld his church consumed by fire, during a conflict between some Sioux and some Algonquins. The former came as ambassadors to treat of

peace, for the tribe had been worsted in recent engagements. The missionary desirous of founding a Sioux mission, had already some of the tribe in his house under instructions; with the same view he now received the envoys. A council of reception was held at the mission house to deliberate on the proposed peace. While thus engaged a Cristinaux brandished his knife in the face of a Sioux chief. Fired at the insult the Dahcota sprang to his feet, and seizing the stone knife in his belt, drew from his long hair a second, which they always carry there. Brandishing these he shouted his war cry, and with his clansmen soon drew the Algonquins from the house. To dislodge them their antagonists fired the building, killed the Sioux envoys and two women, but lost twice as many of their own number."

CHAPTER IV.

LOUIS HENNEPIN, THE FRANCISCAN.

THE FIRST EXPLORER OF THE MISSISSIPPI ABOVE THE WISCONSIN.

IN the vast wilderness that intervenes between the Western extremity of Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi, there is a large and beautiful lake. Its shores are elevated and strewn with vast boulders, presenting the appearance of a deserted ball ground of the Titans. On the Western side, a knife-like point extends into the lake, shaded by lofty pines. In the immediate vicinity is an island noted for the fertility of its soil, and which has been tilled by the aborigines, after their manner, for nearly two centuries. Surrounded by forests of maple, the marshes in the vicinity rank in the growth of wild rice, the clear waters the abode of an abundance of fish, its position a Gibraltar to foes, it is a place, above all others, desirable as a residence to the Indian. On the isle in this remote lake, two years before the mild and educated Penn conferred with the Indians on the banks of the broad Delaware, on the site of a portion of Philadelphia, there was an European, a captive among the children of the forest, who, in the grey robe of the Franciscan, was compelled to work with the women, and submit to all the treatment that the caprice of the chief dictated.

The individual had been well educated, travelled on the continent, officiated in the capacity of ecclesiastic on the battle field and in public institutions beyond the Atlantic, and been the companion of the renowned La Salle in many of his adventures. It was Louis Hennepin, a Recollect Franciscan. Though his reputation was sadly tarnished by some acts, it cannot be denied that he was a shrewd observer, and apt in the acquisition of the languages of the several tribes he visited in the New World. While his character cannot be admired, as long as the "voice of many waters" is heard at Niagara, and the Falls of the Mississippi, his name will be recalled by the historian.

While he was a member of the first company of civilized men that visited the Mississippi above the mouth of the Wisconsin, and the first to name and describe the Falls of Saint Anthony, it was also in an edition of his book of travels, that the first engraving of the cataract at Niagara was presented to the world.

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EARLY HISTORY.

The account of Hennepin's early life is chiefly obtained from the introduction to the Amsterdam edition of his book of travels. He was born in Ath, an inland town of the Netherlands. From boyhood he longed to visit foreign countries, and it is not to be wondered at that he assumed the priestly office, for next to the army, it was the road, in that age, to distinction. For several years he led quite a wandering life. A member of the Recollect branch of the Franciscans, at one time he is on a begging expedition to some of the towns on the sea-coast. In a few months he occupies the post of chaplain at an hospital, where he shrives the dying and administers extreme unction. From the quiet of the hospital, he proceeds to the camp, and is present at the battle of Seneffe, which occurred in the year 1674.

His whole mind, from the time that he became a priest, appears to have been in "things seen and temporal," rather than in those that are "unseen and eternal." While on duty at some of the ports on the Straits of Dover, he exhibited the characteristic of an ancient Athenian more than that of a professed successor of the Apostles. He sought out the society of strangers "who spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing." With perfect nonchalance he confesses that notwithstanding the nauseating fumes of tobacco, he used to slip behind the doors of sailors' taverns, and spend days, without regard to the loss of his meals, listening to the adventures and hair-breadth escapes of the mariners in lands beyond the sea.

VOYAGE TO AMERICA.

In the year 1676 he received a welcome order from his superior, requiring him to embark for Canada. Unaccustomed to the world, and arbitrary in his disposition, he rendered the cabin of the ship in which he sailed, any thing but heavenly. As in modern days, the passengers in a vessel to the new world, were composed of heterogeneous materials. There were young women, going out in search for brothers, or husbands, ecclesiastics, and those engaged in the then new, but profitable commerce in furs. One of his fellow passengers was the talented, and enterprising, though unfortunate La Salle, with whom he afterwards associated. If he is to be credited, his intercourse with La Salle was not very pleasant on ship board. The young women tired of being cooped up in the narrow accommodations of the ship, when the evening was fair sought the deck, and engaged in the rude dances of the French peasantry of that age. Hennepin feeling that it was improper, began to assume the air of the priest, and forbid the sport. La Salle feeling that his interference was uncalled for, called him a pedant, and took the side of the girls, and during the voyage there were stormy discussions.

Good humor appears to have been restored when they left the ship, for Hennepin would otherwise have not been the companion of La Salle in his great Western journey.

Sojourning for a short period at Quebec, the adventure-loving Franciscan, is permitted to go to a mission station on or near the site of the present town of Kingston, Canada West.

Here there was much to gratify his love of novelty, and he passed considerable time in rambling among the Iroquois of New York, even penetrating as far Eastward as the Dutch fort Orange, now the city of Albany.

JOINS LA SALLE'S EXPEDITION.

In 1678 he returned to Quebec and was ordered to join the expedition of Robert La Salle.

On the sixth of December Father Hennepin and a portion of the exploring party had entered the Niagara river. In the vicinity of the Falls, the winter was passed, and while the artisans were preparing a ship above the falls, to navigate the great lakes the Recollet wiled away the hours in studying the manners and customs of the Seneca Indians, and in admiring the sublimest handiwork of God on the Globe.

On the seventh of August, 1679, the ship being completely rigged, unfurled its sails to the breezes of Lake Erie. The vessel was named the Griffin, in honor of the arms of Frontenac, Governor of Canada, the first ship of European construction that had ever ploughed the waters of the great inland seas of North America.

After encountering a violent and dangerous storm on one of the lakes, during which they had given up all hopes of escaping shipwreck, on the twenty-seventh of the month, they were safely moored in the harbor of "Missilimackinack." From thence the party proceeded to Green Bay, where they left the ship, procured canoes, and continued along the coast of Lake Michigan. By the middle of January, 1680, La Salle had conducted his expedition to the Illinois river, and on an eminence near Lake Peoria, he commenced, with much heaviness of heart, the erection of a fort, which he called Crevecoeur, on account of the many disappointments he had experienced.

La Salle, in the month of February, selected Hennepin and two traders for the arduous and dangerous undertaking of exploring the unknown regions of the upper Mississippi.

Daring and ambitious of distinction as a discoverer, he was not averse to such a commission, though perhaps he may have shrunk from the undertaking at so inclement a season as the last of February is, in this portion of North America.

EMBARKS FOR THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

On the twenty-ninth of February, 1680, with two voyageurs, named Picard du Gay and Michael Ako, Hennepin embarked in a canoe on the voyage of discovery.

The venerable Ribourde, a member of a Burgundian family of high rank, and a fellow Franciscan, came down to the river bank to see him off, and in bidding him farewell told him to acquit himself like a man, and be of good courage. His words were, "*Viriliter age et confortetur cor tuum.*"

The canoe was loaded with about one hundred and fifty dollars worth of merchandize for the purpose of trade with the Indians, and in addition La Salle presented to Hennepin ten knives, twelve awls or bodkins, a parcel of tobacco, a package of needles, and a pound or two of white or black beads.

The movements of Hennepin, during the month of March, are not very clearly related. He appears to have been detained at the junction of the Illinois with the Mississippi by the floating ice, until near the middle of that month. He then commenced the ascent of the river for the first time by civilized man, though Marquette had seven years before descended from the Wisconsin.

Surrounded by hostile and unknown natives, they cautiously proceeded. On the 11th of April, 1680, thirty-three bark canoes, containing a Dakota war party against the Illinois and Miami nations, hove in sight, and commenced discharging their arrows at the canoe of the Frenchmen. Perceiving the calumet of peace, they ceased their hostile demonstrations and approached. The first night that Hennepin and his companions passed with the Dakota party was one of anxiety. The next morning, a chief named Narrhetoba asked for the peace calumet, filled it with willow bark, and all smoked. It was then signified that the white men were to return with them to their villages.

HENNEPIN'S ATTEMPT TO PRAY.

In his narrative the Franciscan remarks:—"I found it difficult to say my office before these Indians. Many seeing me move my lips, said in a fierce tone, 'Ouakanche.' Michael, all out of countenance, told me, that if I continued to say my breviary, we should all three be killed, and the Picard begged me at least to pray apart, so as not to provoke them. I followed the latter's advice, but the more I concealed myself, the more I had the Indians at my heels, for when I entered the wood, they thought I was going to hide some goods under ground, so that I knew not on what side to turn to pray, for they never let me out of sight. This obliged me to beg pardon of my canoemen, assuring them I could not dispense with saying my office. By the word 'Ouackanche,' the Indians meant that the book I was reading was a spirit, but by their gesture they nevertheless shewed a kind of aversion, so that to accustom them to it, I chanted the Litany of the Blessed Virgin in the canoe, with my book open. They thought that the breviary was a spirit which taught me to sing for their diversion, for these people are naturally fond of singing."

This is the first mention of a Dakota word in a European book. The savages were annoyed rather than enraged, at seeing the white man reading a book, and exclaimed "Wakan-de!" this is wonderful or supernatural. The war party was composed of several bands of the Mdewakan-tonwan Dakotas, and there was a diversity of opinion in relation to the disposition that should be made of the white men. The relatives of those who had been killed by the Miamis were in favor of taking their scalps, but others were anxious to retain the favor of the French, and open a trading intercourse.

Perceiving one of the canoemen shoot a wild turkey, they called the gun Manza Ouack-ange—iron that has understanding; more correctly, Maza Wakande, this is the supernatural metal.

ARRIVE AT LAKE PEPIN.

Aquipaguatin one of the head men resorted to the following device to obtain merchandise. Says the Father, "this wily savage had the bones of some distinguished relative, which he preserved with great care in some skins dressed and adorned with several rows of black and red porcupine quills. From time to time he assembled his men to give it a smoke, and made us come several days to cover the bones with goods, and by a present wipe away the tears he had shed for him, and for his own son killed by the Miamis. To appease this captious man, we threw on the bones several fathoms of tobacco, axes, knives, beads, and some black and white wampum bracelets. * * * * * We slept at the point of the Lake of Tears, which we so called from the tears which this chief shed all night long, or by one of his sons whom he caused to weep when he grew tired.

DAKOTA METHOD OF OBTAINING FIRE.

The next day, after four or five leagues sail, a chief came and telling them to leave their canoes, he pulled up three piles of grass for seats. Then taking a piece of cedar full of little holes, he placed a stick into one, which he revolved between the palms of his hands, until he kindled a fire, and informed the Frenchmen that they would be at Mille Lac in six days. On the nineteenth day after their captivity, they arrived in the vicinity of Saint Paul, not far it is probable from the marshy ground on which the Kaposia band once lived, and now called "Pig's Eye."

The journal remarks, "having arrived on the nineteenth day of our navigation five

leagues below St. Anthony falls, these Indians landed us in a bay, broke our canoe to pieces, and secreted their own in the reeds."

They then followed the trail to Mille Lac, sixty leagues distant. As they approached their villages the various bands began to show their spoils. The tobacco was highly prized and led to some contention. The chalice of the Father which glistened in the sun, they were afraid to touch, supposing it was "wakan." After five days walk they reached the Issati (Dakota) settlements in the valley of the Rum River. The different bands, each conducted a Frenchman to their village, the chief Aquipaguetin taking charge of Hennepin. After marching through the marshes towards the sources of Rum River, five wives of the chief, in three bark canoes, met them and took them a short league to an island where their cabins were.

HENNEPIN AT MILLE LAC.

An aged Indian kindly rubbed down the way worn Franciscan—placing him on a bear skin near the fire, he anointed his legs and the soles of his feet with wild-cat oil.

The son of the chief took great pleasure in carrying upon his bare back the Priests robe with dead mens bones enveloped. It was called Pere Louis Chinnien—in the Dakota language Shinna or Shinnan signifies a buffalo robe. Hennepin's description of his life on the island is in these words:

"The day after our arrival Aquipaguetin, who was the head of a large family, covered me with a robe made of ten large dressed beaver skins, trimmed with porcupine quills. This Indian showed me five or six of his wives, telling them, as I afterwards learned, that they should in future regard me as one of their children.

SWEATING CABIN.

"He set before me a bark dish full of fish, and seeing that I could not rise from the ground he had a small sweating cabin made, in which he made me enter naked with four Indians. This cabin he covered with buffalo skins, and inside he put stones red to the middle. He made me a sign to do as the others before beginning to sweat, but I merely concealed my nakedness with a handkerchief. As soon as these Indians had several times breathed out quite violently he began to sing vociferously, the others putting their hands on me and rubbing me while they wept bitterly. I began to faint, but I came out and could scarcely take my habit to put on. When he made me sweat thus three times a week, I felt as strong as ever."

ASTONISHMENT AT COMPASS AND IRON POT.

The mariner's compass was a constant source of wonder and amazement. Aquipaguetin having assembled the braves would ask Hennepin to show his compass. Perceiving that the needle turned, the chief harangued his men, and told them that the Europeans were spirits, capable of doing anything.

In the Franciscans possession was an iron pot with lion paw feet which the Indians would not touch unless their hands were wrapped in buffalo skins.

The women looked upon it as "wakan," and would not enter the cabin where it was.

THE FIRST DAKOTA LEXICON.

Necessity soon forced the Father to compile a Dictionary, and children were his assistants. He writes, "As soon as I could catch the word Taketchiaukhen (Taku-kapi-he) which means "what call you that," I became in a short time able to converse on the familiar objects. At first this difficulty was hard to surmount. If I had a desire to know what "to run" was, in their tongue, I was forced to increase my speed and ac-

usually run from one end of the lodge to the other, until they understood what I meant and had told me the word, which I presently set down in my Dictionary."

"The chiefs of these savages seeing that I was desirous to learn, frequently made me write, naming all the parts of the human body, and as I would not put on paper certain indelicate words, at which they do not blush, they were heartily amused.

They often asked the Franciscan questions, to answer which, it was necessary to refer to his lexicon. This appeared very strange, and as they had no word for paper, they said "That white thing must be a spirit which tells Pere Louis all we say."

CONVERSATION ON MARRIAGE.

Hennepin remarks: "These Indians often asked me how many wives and children I had, and how old I was, that is how many winters, for so these natives always count. Never illumined by the light of faith, they were surprised at my answer. Pointing to our two Frenchmen, whom I was then visiting, at a point three leagues from our village, I told them that a man among us could only have one wife, that as for me I had promised the Master of life to live as they saw me, and to come and live with them to teach them to be like the French.

But that gross people till then, lawless and faithless, turned all I said into ridicule. "How" said they "would you have these two men with thee have wives? Ours would not live with them, for they have hair all over their face, and we have none there or elsewhere." In fact they were never better pleased with me than when I was shaved, and from a complaisance, certainly not criminal, I shaved every week."

BAPTISM OF AN INFANT.

"As I often went to visit the cabins, I found a sick child, whose fathers name was Mamenisi. Michael Ako would not accompany me, the Picard du Gay alone followed me to act as sponsor, or rather to witness the baptism.

I Christened the child Antoinette, in honor of St. Anthony of Padua, as well as for the Picards name which was Anthony Auguelle. He was a native of Amiens, and nephew of the Procurator General of the Premoustratensians both now at Paris. Having poured natural water on the head and uttered these words: "Creature of God, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," I took half an altar cloth which I had wrested from the hands of an Indian, who had stolen it from me, and put it on the body of the baptized child; for as I could not say mass for want of wine and vestments, this piece of linen could not be put to better use, than to enshroud the first Christian child among these tribes. I do not know whether the softness of the linen had refreshed her, but she was the next day smiling in her mothers arms, who belived that I had cured the child, but she died soon after, to my great consolation."

ARRIVAL OF DISTANT INDIANS.

"During my stay among them, there arrived four savages, who said they were come alone five hundred leagues from the West, and had been four months upon the way.— They assured us there was no such place as the Straits of Anian, and that they had travelled without resting except to sleep, and had not seen or passed over any great lake, by which phrase they always mean the sea.

They further informed us that the nation of the Assenipoulacs (Assiniboines) who lie Northeast of Issati, was not above six or seven days journey; that none of the nations within their knowledge, who lie to the East, or Northwest, had any great lake about

their countries, which were very large, but only rivers which came from the North; they further assured us that there were very few forests in the countries through which they passed, insomuch that now and then, they were forced to make fires of Buffalos' dung to boil their food. All these circumstances make it appear that there is no such place as the Straits of Anian, as we usually see them set down on the maps. And whatever efforts have been made for many years past by the English and Dutch, to find out a passage to the Frozen Sea, they have not yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my discovery, and the assistance of God, I doubt not but a passage may still be found, and that an easy one too.

For example, we may be transported into the Pacific Sea, by rivers which are large and capable of carrying great vessels, and from thence it is very easy to go to China and Japan without crossing the equinoctial line and in all probability Japan is on the same continent as America."

Before proceeding farther with the life of Hennepin, it is necessary that we should know something of De Luth.

CHAPTER V.

SIEUR DU LUTH.

THE EXPLORER BETWEEN MILLE LACS AND LAKE SUPERIOR.

ONE of the early French writers on the Northwest, remarks:—"In the last year of M. de Frontenac's first administration, Sieur du Luth, a man of talent and experience, opened a way to the missionaries and the gospel in many different nations, turning toward the North of that lake (Superior) where he even built a fort. He advanced as far as the Lake of the Issnti (Mille Lac), called Lake Buade, from the family name of M. de Frontenac." This gentleman had been a resident of the city of Lyons, and was a cousin of the one-handed Chevalier Tonty, the true friend and companion of La Salle.

He appears to have been in the neighborhood of Lake Superior, as early as 1679. He was the first to build a fort at Pigeon river—the stream with its chain of lakes that separates Minnesota from the British possessions,—which trading post is still maintained under the name of Fort Charlotte, though in the days of the French regime it was called Kamanistigoya.

While on Lake Superior, he killed two Iroquois, who had assassinated two Frenchmen, and the act so exasperated the Iroquois nation in New York, that it led to the Iroquois war with the French. While trading at the head of Lake Superior, he became acquainted with the Dakotas, and sought out their central residence at Mille Lac. Hennepin, in his map of the Dakota country, calls the St. Croix "the River of the Tomb," and gives a mark for the Falls.

In the geographical description of the country, he describes the Saint Croix as "a river full of rapids, by which, striking Northwest, you can reach Lake Conde (Superior) that is as far as Namissakouat river, which empties into the lake. This first river

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is called Tomb river, because the Issati left there the body of one of their warriors * * * * * Lake Buade, or the Lake of the Issati (Mille Lac) is about seventy leagues West of Lake Conde. It is impossible to go from one to the other on account of the marshy ground, though on snow-shoes it might be done. By water it is one hundred and fifty leagues, on account of the windings and portages. From Lake Conde, to go conveniently in canoes, you must pass by Tomb (St. Croix) river."

This information the Franciscan must have obtained from De Luth, who with a party of Frenchmen, very unexpectedly made his appearance among the Dakotas, who held Hennepin as a captive, in the month of July, 1680.

At the time the Indians were on a buffalo hunt in the valley of the Mississippi. Hennepin's account of the meeting with De Luth is as follows:

The old man on duty, on the top of the bluffs, announced that he saw two warriors in the distance. All the bowmen hastened there with speed, and trying to outstrip the others, but they brought back only two of their own women, who came to tell them, that a party of their people were hunting at the extremity of Lake Conde (Superior) and had found five spirits (so they call the French,) who by means of a captive had expressed a wish to visit them.

On the 25th of July as we were ascending the Colbert (Mississippi) after the buffalo hunt, to the Indian villages we met the Sieur de Luth who came to the Nadouessee with five French soldiers, and merchandize." In all probability they came to the Mississippi by way of the St. Croix. De Luth engaged Hennepin as a guide and companion while visiting the Mdewakantonwan Dakotas.

On the 14th of August 1680 they arrived at the villages toward the sources of the Rum river. Towards the end of September the Indians were informed that it would be necessary to return to Canada to procure more merchandise. A great council having been held, they consented. Ousacoude,* the head chief, prepared for them a chart of the route, by way of the Mississippi and Wisconsin, to Green Bay. Wintering at Mackinaw, De Luth and Hennepin appear to have arrived at Quebec in the spring of 1681. The latter hastened to France, never to return to America, but to write a book, which has given him the reputation of an unprincipled and boasting adventurer.

De Luth appears to have been a man of influence in Quebec. At a conference of some of the distinguished public men in the city, in relation to the difficulties with the Iroquois, held October 10th, 1682, De Luth was present.

In the month of March, 1684, notwithstanding all the attempts of the French to keep the peace, a band of Seneca and Cayuga warriors, having met seven canoes manned by fourteen Frenchmen, with fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds of merchandise, who were going to trade with the "Scioux," pillaged and made them prisoners, and after detaining them nine days, sent them away without arms, food or canoes. This attack caused much alarm in Canada and De Luth, who appeared to have been in command at Green Bay, was ordered by the Governor of Canada to come and state the number of allies he could bring. With great expedition he came to Niagara, the place of rendezvous, with a band of Indians, and would alone have attacked the Senecas had it not been for an express order from De La Barre, the Governor, to desist.

* The name of the chief in Dakota was Wazi-kute, (Wah-zee-koo-tay,) or the Shooter of the Pines. Long's expedition in 1823 met a Dakota at Red Wing who bore the same name as the chief alluded to in the travels of Hennepin.

When Louis the Fourteenth heard of this outbreak, he felt, to use his words, "that it was a grave misfortune for the colony of New France," and then in his letter to the Governor, he adds: "It appears to me that one of the principal causes of the war, arises from one Du Luth having caused two Iroquois to be killed, who had assassinated two Frenchmen, in Lake Superior, and you sufficiently see how much this man's voyage, which cannot produce any advantage to the colony, and which was permitted only in the interest of some private persons, has contributed to distract the repose of the colony."

The English of New York, knowing the hostility of the Iroquois to the French, used the opportunity to trade with the distant Indians. In 1685, one Roseboom, with some young men, had traded with the Ottawas in Michigan.

In the year 1686, an old Frenchman who had long lived among the Dutch and English in New York, came to Montreal, to visit a child at the Jesuit boarding school; and he stated that a Major Gregory, of Albany, was contemplating an expedition to Mackinac.

Denonville, the new Governor of Canada, ordered Du Luth to proceed to the present Detroit river, and watch whether the English passed into Lake St. Clair. In accordance with the order, he left Green Bay. Being provided with fifty armed men, he established a post called fort St. Joseph, some thirty miles above Detroit.

In the year 1687, on the 19th of May, the brave and distinguished Tonty, who was a cousin of Du Luth, arrived at Detroit, from his fort on the Illinois. Durantaye and Du Luth, knowing that he had arrived, came down from fort St. Joseph with thirty captive English. Here Tonty and Du Luth joined forces and proceeded toward the Iroquois country. As they were coasting Lake Erie, they met and captured Major Gregory, of Albany, then on his way with thirty Englishmen, to trade with the Indians at Mackinac.

Du Luth, having reached Lake Ontario, we find him engaged in that conflict with the Senecas of the Genessee valley, when Father Angleran, the superintendent of the Mackinac mission, was severely but not mortally wounded. After this battle, he returned, in company with Tonty, to his post on the Detroit river.

In 1689, immediately previous to the burning of Schenectady, we find him again fighting the Iroquois in the neighborhood, and there is reason to suppose that he was engaged in the midnight sack of that town. As late as the year 1696, we find him on duty at Fort Frontenac; but after the peace of Ryswick, which occasioned a suspension of hostilities, we hear nothing more of this man, who was the first of whom we have any account, who came by way of Lake Superior to the upper Mississippi.

The letter of one of the Jesuit fathers shows that in some things he was as superstitious as the Dakotas, with whom he once traded. While in command of Fort Frontenac, in 1696, he gave the following certificate:

"I, the subscriber, certify to all whom it may concern, that having been tormented by the gout for the space of twenty-three years, and with such severe pains that it gave me no rest for the space of three months at a time, I addressed myself to Catherine Tegah-kouita, an Iroquois virgin, deceased at the Sault Saint Louis, in the reputation of sanctity, and I promised her to visit her tomb if God should give me health through her intercession. I have been so perfectly cured at the end of one novena which I made in her honor, that after five months I have not perceived the slightest touch of my gout.

Given at Fort Frontenac, this 18th day of August, 1696.

J. DE LUTH, Capt. of the Marine Corps, Commander Fort Frontenac.

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NICHOLAS PERROT.

Perrot was a man of good family, and in his youth applied himself to study; and being for a time in the service of the Jesuits, became familiar with the customs and languages of the tribes upon the borders of our lakes. A native of Canada, accustomed from childhood to the excitement and incidents of a border life, he was to a certain extent prepared for the wild scenes witnessed in after days.

If the name of Joliet is worthy of preservation, the citizens of the Northwest ought not to be willing to let the name of that man die, who was the first of whom we have any account, that discovered the lead mines of the Upper Mississippi.

When Du Luth, in 1684, was making preparations at Green Bay, to go to war against the Iroquois, Perrot, who happened to be engaged in trade among the Outagamis, (Foxes,) not very far distant from the bay, rendered him great assistance in collecting allies.

We learn nothing of the subject of our sketch, after this, until about the year 1687. He was then in company with another Canadian named Boisguillot, trading in the neighborhood of the Mississippi. In consequence of an order from the governor of Canada, with the exception of a guard left to protect his merchandise from the Sioux, he proceeded with all the French in his vicinity, to join the army of defence against the English and Iroquois.

In taking leave of the Dakotas, with whom he appears to have been trading, he promised them that if they made war with the Indians who were allies of the French, they would be made to repent.

Six years after this, he is sent as envoy to the Miamis to break up their trade with the English. In the year 1696, the Indians dwelling on the river St. Joseph and vicinity, in Michigan, were attacked by the Dakotas. To revenge themselves, they made a war party, and went into the Dakota country. They found their enemies secretly entrenched in a sort of fort, and aided by several courier de bois. After a fierce attack, the Dakotas repulsed them, and while returning to their hunting grounds they had a skirmish with some Frenchmen who were bearing arms and goods to the Sioux. Filled with a hate towards the French, Nicholas Perrot happened among them, and they would have burned him to death, had it not been for the intervention of the Outagamis, who were his friends.

A quarter of a century after the council at the Falls of St. Mary, there was another grand conference of Indian tribes held at Montreal. Here again we find Perrot in attendance as the interpreter for the tribes that then resided in the present states of Wisconsin and Illinois.

After this second treaty of peace in 1707, the Ottawas requested that he might be their leader, but did not wish "Eau de vie" brought among them as it broke their spirits. While engaged in trade in the Mississippi valley, he traveled as far as Rock Island, and some distance above the Des Moines he discovered some mines of lead, which, as late as 1721, bore his name.

Upon Nicollet's, and many other modern maps, on the East side of Lake Pepin, there are marked the ruins of an old French fort. Carver found these when he traveled here in 1766, and states that in that vicinity a trade was carried on with the Sioux or Dakotas, by the French.

Pike in his Journal appears to have this fort in view when he says: "Just below the

Pt. de Sable, the French, under Frontenac, who had driven the Renards from the Wisconsin, and chased them up the Mississippi river, built a stockade on this lake (PePIN) as a barrier against the savages. It became a noted factory for the Sioux."

CHAPTER VI.

LE SUEUR*.—THE EXPLORER OF THE MINNESOTA RIVER.

LE SUEUR, though the least known of the adventurous Frenchmen, who explored the Upper Mississippi in the 17th century, is more worthy of remembrance by the Minnesotian. He was the first to discover the Minnesota river, ascended it for considerable distance, and may well be termed the pioneer explorer of the present Minnesota Territory, as Hennepin was a captive all the time of his visit in the vicinity of Rum River.

But little is known of his early history. He visited this country as soon as 1683. Previous to his travels South and West, he was commissioned in 1693, by Frontenac, the governor of Canada, to establish a post at Chegoimegon, (La Pointe) on Lake Superior, and to make an alliance with the Saulteurs or Chippewas, and the Scioux. After leaving Lake Superior, he appears to have visited the Mississippi river by the way of the Wisconsin. In the year 1695, he caused a fort to be erected on an island in the Mississippi, 200 leagues above the Illinois, probably Grey-Cloud Island. Charlevoix who was at New Orleans in 1721, remarks: "Above the lake is met Isle Pelee, so named because it is a very beautiful prairie, destitute of trees. The French, of Canada have made it a centre of commerce for the Western parts, and may pass the winter here, because, it is a good country for hunting." This post was built to keep up peaceful relations between the Chippewas, who, according to La Harpe, resided on the shores of a lake 500 leagues in circumference, and 100 leagues to the East, and the Scioux who resided on the Upper Mississippi. It is worthy of note that a post was built on the island a few miles below St. Paul, before an European vessel had entered the mouth of the Mississippi.

The same year he went back to Montreal with a Chippewa chief named Chingoonabe, and a Scioux called Tioscate, who was the first Dakota in that city. He was received very kindly by the governor and other officers. Two days after he came to Montreal, he presented Frontenac as many arrows as there were "Scioux" villages, and asked that these might be under his protection. Le Sueur had intended to have returned to the Dakota country in 1696, with Tioscate, but the chief in the meantime died, after thirty-three days sickness. Le Sueur then went to France, and obtained permission, in 1697 to open some mines which he claimed to have found in the Dakota country.

In June of that year, he left Rochelle for the New World, but was captured by a British fleet and taken to England. Being released from captivity, he returned to France, and in 1698 obtained a new commission for mining.

Le Sueur published no account of his travels, but in the history of the establishment of the French in Louisiana, by La Harpe, there is an extract from the account of his voyage to the Scioux or Dakota country.

*Published in February, 1852, in the Annals of the Society for that year.

The "History of Louisiana, by La Harpe," who was a French officer, remained in manuscript in Louisiana, more than one hundred years. In 1805, a copy was taken from the original, and deposited among the archives of the American Philosophical Society, from which a few extracts were published by Professor Keating, in his narrative of Major Long's Expedition. In the year 1831, the original was published at Paris, for the first time, in the French language. As it has never been translated, and is not easy of access, we transcribe all that relates to the "Scioux," and the mining operations of Le Sueur on the Blue Earth river. La Harpe says: "On the 10th of February M. LeSueur arrived (at the mouth of the Mississippi,) with 2,000 quintals of blue and green earth from the Scioux country. Here is an extract of the account of his voyage. It has been seen above, that he arrived at the colony in month of December, 1699, with thirty workmen, but could not reach Tamarois before the following June, the journey being long from the mouth of the river to that place."

On the 12th of July, 1700, with one felucca and two canoes, and with nineteen men, he departed. On the 13th, having advanced six leagues and a quarter, he stopped at the mouth of the Missouri river, and six leagues above this he passed the Illinois on the East side. He there met three Canadian voyageurs, who came to join his band, and received by them a letter from Father Marest, Jesuit, dated July 10th, 1700, at the Mission of the Immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin, in Illinois of which the following is a copy:

"I have the honor to write in order to inform you, that the Saugiestas have been defeated by the Scioux and Ayavois. (Iowas.) The people have formed an alliance with the Quincapous, (Kickapoos,) some of the Mecoutins, Renards, (Foxes,) and Metesigamias, and gone to revenge themselves, not on the Scioux, for they are too much afraid of them, but perhaps on the Ayavois, or very likely upon the Paoutees, or more probably upon the Osages, for these suspect nothing, and the others are on their guard.

"As you will probably meet these allied nations, you ought to take precaution against their plans and not allow them to board your vessel, since they are traitors, and utterly faithless. I pray God to accompany you in all your designs."

Twenty-two leagues above the Illinois, he passed a small stream which he called the river of Oxen, and nine leagues beyond this he passed a small river on the West side, where he met four Canadians descending the Mississippi, on their way to the Illinois. On the 30th of July, nine leagues above the last named river, he met seventeen Scioux, in seven canoes, who were going to revenge the death of three Scioux, one of whom had been burned and the others killed, at Tamarois, a few days before his arrival in that village. As he had promised the chief of the Illinois to appease the Scioux, who should go to war against his nation, he made a present to the chief of the party to engage him to turn back. He told them the king of France did not wish them to make this river more bloody, and that he was sent to tell them, that if they obeyed the king's word, they would receive in future all things necessary for them. The chief answered that he accepted the present, that is to say, that he would do as had been told him.

From the 30th of July to the 25th of August, Le Sueur advanced fifty-three and one-fourth leagues, to a small river which he called the river of the Mine.* At the mouth it runs from the north, but it turns to the north-east. On the right seven leagues, there is a lead mine in a prairie, one and a half leagues, is only navigable in high water, that is to say, from early spring till the month of June.

* This is the first Mention of the Galena mines.

From the 25th to the 27th he made ten leagues, passed two small rivers, and made himself acquainted with a mine of lead from which he took a supply. From the 27th to the 30th, he made eleven and a half leagues, and met five Canadians, one of whom had been dangerously wounded in the head. They were naked, and had no ammunition, except a miserable gun, with five or six loads of powder and balls. They said they were descending from the Scioux to go to Tamarois, and when seventy leagues above, they perceived nine canoes in the Mississippi, in which was ninety savages, who robbed and cruelly beat them. This party were going to war against the Scioux, and were composed of four different nations, the Outagamis, (Foxes,) Saquis, (Sacs,) Poutouwatamis, (Pottowattamies,) and Pauns, (Winnebagoes,) who dwell in a country eighty leagues East of the Mississippi from where Le Sueur then was.

The Canadians determined to follow the detachment, which was composed of twenty-eight men. This day they made seven and a half leagues. On the 1st of September, he passed the Wisconsin river. It runs into the Mississippi from the Northeast.—It is nearly one and a half miles wide. At about seventy-five leagues up this river, on the right, ascending, there is a portage of more than a league. The half of this portage is shaking ground, and at the end of it is a small river, which descends into a bay called Winnebago bay. It is inhabited by a great number of nations, who carry their furs to Canada. Monsieur Le Sueur came by the Wisconsin river to the Mississippi, for the first time, in 1683, on his way to the Scioux country, where he had already passed seven years at different periods. The Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Wisconsin, is less than a half mile wide. From the 1st of September to the 5th, our voyageur advanced fourteen leagues. He passed the river "Aux Canots," which comes from the North-east, and then the Quincapous, named from a nation which once dwelt upon its banks.

From the 5th to the 9th, he made ten and a half leagues, and passed the rivers Cachee and Aux Ailes. The same day he perceived canoes, filled with savages, descending the river, and the five Canadians recognized them as the party who had robbed them.—They placed sentinels in the wood, for fear of being surprised by land; and when they had approached within hearing, they cried to them that if they approached farther they would fire. They then drew up by an island, at half the distance of a gun shot. Soon, four of the principal men of the band approached in a canoe, and asked if it was forgotten that they were our brethren, and with what design we had taken arms, when we perceived them. Le Sueur replied that he had cause to distrust them, since they had robbed five of his party. Nevertheless, for the surety of his trade, being forced to be at peace with all the tribes, he demanded no redress for the robbery, but added merely that the king, their master and his, wished that his subjects should navigate that river without insult, and that they had better beware how they acted.

The Indian who had spoken was silent, but another said they had been attacked by the Scioux, and that if they did not have pity on them, and give a little powder, they should not be able to reach their village. The consideration of a missionary, who was to go up among the Scioux, and whom these savages might meet, induced them to give two pounds of powder.

M. Le Sueur made the same day three leagues; passed a stream on the West, and afterwards another river on the East, which is navigable at all times, and which the Indians call Red river.

On the 10th, at daybreak, they heard an elk whistle, on the other side of the river.—

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A Canadian crossed in a small Scioux canoe, which they had found, and shortly returned with the body of the animal, which was very easily killed, quand il est en rut, that is from the beginning of September until the end of October. The hunters at this time make a whistle of a piece of wood, or reed, and when they hear an elk whistle, they answer it. The animal believing it to be another elk, approaches, and is killed with ease.

From the 10th to the 14th, M. Le Sueur made seventeen and a half leagues, passing the rivers Raisin and Paquilenettes, (perhaps the Wazi Ozu and Buffalo.) The same day he left on the East side of the Mississippi, a beautiful and large river, which descends from the very far North, and called Bon Secours, (Chippewa,) on account of the great quantity of buffalo, elk, bears and deers, which are found there. Three leagues up this river, there is a mine of lead, and seven leagues above, on the same side, they found another long river, in the vicinity of which there is a copper mine, from which he had taken a lump of sixty pounds, in a former voyage. In order to make these mines of any account, peace must be obtained between the Scioux and Outagamis (Foxes) because the latter who dwell on the East side of the Mississippi, pass this road continually when going to war against the Scioux.

In this region, at one and a half leagues on the Northwest side, commenced a lake, which is six leagues long, and more than one broad, called Lake Pepin. It is bounded on the West by a chain of mountains; on the East is seen a prairie, and on the Northwest of the lake there is another prairie two leagues long, and one wide. In the neighborhood is a chain of mountains quite two hundred feet high, and more than one and a half miles long. In these are found several caves, to which the bears retire in winter.—Most of the caverns are more than seventy feet in extent, and three or four feet high.—There are several of which the entrance is very narrow, and quite closed up with salt-petre. It would be dangerous to enter them in summer, for they are filled with rattlesnakes, the bite of which is very dangerous. Le Sueur saw some of these snakes, which were six feet in length, but generally they are about four feet. They have teeth resembling those of the pike, and their gums are full of small vessels in which their poison is placed. The Scioux say they take it every morning, and cast it away at night. They have at the tail, a kind of scale which makes a noise, and this is called the rattle.

Le Sueur made on this day, seven and a half leagues, and passed another river called Hiambouxecate' Ouataba, or the river of Flat Rocks. (This is evidently the Inyanbosdata, or Cannon River.)

On the 15th, he crossed a small river, and saw in the neighborhood, several canoes filled with Indians, descending the Mississippi. He supposed they were Scioux, because he could not distinguish whether their canoes were large or small. The arms were placed in readiness, and soon they heard the cry of the savages, which they are accustomed to raise when they rush upon their enemies. He caused them to be answered in the same manner; and after having placed all the men behind the trees, he ordered them not to fire until they were commanded. He remained on shore to see what movement the savages could make, and perceiving that they placed two on shore, on the other side, where from an eminence they could ascertain the strength of his forces, he caused the men to pass and re-pass from the shore to the wood, in order to make them believe that they were numerous. This ruse succeeded, for as soon as the two descended from the eminence, the chief of the party came, bearing the calumet, which is a signal of peace among the Indians.

They said, that never having seen the French navigate the river with boats like the felucca,* they had supposed them to be English, and for that reason they had raised the war cry, and arranged themselves on the other side of the Mississippi; but having recognized their flag, they had come without fear to inform them, that one of their number, who was crazy, had accidentally killed a Frenchman, and that they would go and bring his comrade, who would tell how the mischief had happened.

The Frenchman they brought, was Denis, a Canadian, and he reported that his companion was accidentally killed. His name was Laplace, a deserting soldier from Canada, who had taken refuge in this country.

Le Sueur replied that Onontio, (the name they give to all the governors of Canada) being their father and his, they ought not to seek justification elsewhere than before him; and he advised them to go and see him as soon as possible, and beg him to wipe off the blood of this Frenchman from their faces.

The party was composed of forty-seven men of different nations, who dwell far to the East, about the forty-fourth degree of latitude. Le Sueur, discovering who the chiefs were, said the king whom they had spoken of in Canada, had sent him to take possession of the North of the river; and that he wished the nations who dwell on it, as well as those under his protection, to live in peace.

He made this day three and three-fourth leagues; and on the 16th of September, he left a large river on the East side, named St. Croix, because a Frenchman of that name was shipwrecked at its mouth. It comes from the N. N. W. Four leagues higher, in going up, is found a small lake, at the mouth of which is a very large mass of copper. It is on the edge of the water, in a small ridge of sandy earth, on the West of this lake.

From the 16th to the 19th, he advanced thirteen and three-fourth leagues. After having made from Tamarois two hundred and nine and a half leagues, he left the navigation of the Mississippi, to enter the river Saint Pierre† on the West side. By the first of October, he had made in this river, forty-four and one fourth leagues. After he entered into Blue river, thus named on account of the mines of blue earth found at its mouth, he founded his post, situated in forty-four degrees, thirteen minutes, north latitude. He met at this place, nine Scioux‡ who told him that the river belonged to the Scioux of the West, the Ayavois, (Iowas,) and Otocatas, (Otoes,) who lived a little farther off; that it was not their custom to hunt on ground belonging to others, unless invited to do so by the owners, and that when they would come to the fort to obtain provisions, they would be in danger of being killed in ascending or descending the rivers, which were narrow, and that if they would show their pity, he must establish himself on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Saint Pierre, where the Ayavois, the Otocatas, and the other Scioux, could go as well as them.

Having finished their speech, they leaned over the head of Le Sueur, according to

*The felucca is a small vessel propelled both by oars and sails, and had never before been seen on the waters of the Upper Mississippi.

†The Saint Pierre, like the Saint Croix, just below it, was evidently named after a Frenchman. Charlevoix speaks of an officer by that name, who was at Mackinac in 1692, and prominent in the Indian affairs of that age. Carver, in 1776, on the shores of Lake Pepin, discovered the ruins of an extensive trading post, that had been under the control of a Captain Saint Pierre, and there is scarcely a doubt that Le Sueur, named the Minnesota river in honor of his fellow explorer and trader.

‡Scioux, is the orthography of Lahontan, Le Sueur, and the Jesuits of that period, in their relations.

their custom, crying out "Oueachisson ouaepanimanabo," that is to say, "Have pity upon us." Le Sueur had foreseen that the establishment of Blue river, would not please the Scioux of the East, who were, so to speak, masters of the other Scioux, and of the nations which will be hereafter mentioned, because they were the first with whom trade was commenced, and in consequence of which they had already quite a number of guns.

As he had not commenced his operations only with a view to the trade of beavers, but also to gain a knowledge of the mines, which he had previously discovered, he told them he was sorry that he had not known their intentions sooner; and that it was just, since he came expressly for them, that he should establish himself on their land, but that the season was too far advanced for him to return. He then made them a present of powder, balls and knives, and an armful of tobacco, to entice them to assemble as soon as possible, near the fort which he was about to construct, that when they should be all assembled he might tell them the intention of the king, their and his sovereign.

The Scioux of the West, according to the statement of the Eastern Scioux, have more than a thousand lodges. They do not use canoes, nor cultivate the earth, nor gather wild rice. They remain generally in the prairies, which are between the Upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and live entirely by the chase. The Scioux generally say they have three souls, and that after death, that which has done well goes to the warm country, that which has done evil, to the cold regions, and the other guards the body. Polygamy is common among them. They are very jealous, and sometimes fight in duel for their wives. They manage the bow admirably, and have been seen several times to kill ducks on the wing. They make their lodges of a number of buffalo skins interlaced and sewed, and carry them wherever they go. They are all great smokers, but their manner of smoking differs from that of other Indians. There are some Scioux who swallow all the smoke of the tobacco, and others who, after having kept it sometime in their mouth, cause it to issue from the nose. In each lodge there are usually two or three men with their families.

On the 3d of October, they received at the fort, several Scioux, among whom was Wahkantape, chief of the village. Soon two Canadians arrived who had been hunting, and had been robbed by the Scioux of the East, who had raised their guns against the establishment which M. Le Sueur had made on Blue river.

On the 14th the fort was finished and named Fort L'Huilier, and on the 22d two Canadians were sent out to invite the Ayavois and Ototatas to come and establish a village near the fort, because these Indians are industrious and accustomed to cultivate the earth, and they hoped to get provisions from them and to make them work in the mines.

On the 24th, six Scioux Oujalespoitons wished to go into the fort, but were told that they did not receive men who had killed Frenchmen. This is the term used when they have insulted them. The next day they came to the lodge of Le Sueur to beg him to have pity on them. They wished, according to custom, to weep over his head and make him a present of packs of beavers, which he refused. He told them he was surprised that people who had robbed should come to him; to which they replied that they had heard it said that two Frenchmen had been robbed, but none from their village had been present at that wicked action.

Le Sueur answered, that he knew it was the Mendeoucantons and not the Oujalespoitons; "but," continued he, "you are Scioux; it is the Scioux who have robbed me, and

if I were to follow your manner of acting, I should break your heads; for is it not true, that when a stranger (it is thus that they call the Indians who are not Scioux) has insulted a Scioux, Mendeoucantons, Oujalespoitons or others—all the villages—revenge upon the first one they meet?"

As they had nothing to answer to what he said to them, they wept and repeated, according to custom, "Ouachissou! ouapanimanabo!" Le Sueur told them to cease crying, and added that the French had good hearts, and that they had come into the country to have pity on them. At the same time he made them a present, saying to them, "Carry back your beavers and say to all the Scioux, that they will have from me no more powder or lead, and they will no longer smoke any long pipe until they have made satisfaction for robbing the Frenchman."

The same day the Canadians, who had been sent off on the 22d, arrived without having found the road which led to the Ayavois and Otocatas. On the 25th, Le Sueur went to the river with three canoes, which he filled with green and blue earth.* It is taken from the hills near which are very abundant mines of copper, some of which was worked at Paris in 1696 by L'Huillier, one of the chief collectors of the king. Stones were also found there which would be curious, if worked.

On the 9th of November, eight Mantanton Scioux arrived, who had been sent by their chiefs to say that the *Mendeoucantons* were still at their lake on the East of the Mississippi and they could not come for a long time; and that for a single village which had no good sense, the others ought not to bear the punishment; and that they were willing to make reparation if they knew how. Le Sueur replied that he was glad that they had a disposition to do so.

On the 15th the two Mantanton Scioux, who had been sent expressly to say that all of the Scioux of the East and part of those of the West were joined together to come to the French, because they had heard that the Christianaux and the Assinipoils were making war on them. These two nations dwell above the fort on the East side, more than eighty leagues on the Upper Mississippi.

The Assinipoils speak Scioux, and are certainly of that nation. It is only a few years since that they became enemies. The enmity thus originated: The Christianaux, having the use of arms before the Scioux, through the English at Hudson's Bay, they constantly warred upon the Assinipoils, who were their nearest neighbors. The latter being weak, sued for peace, and to render it more lasting, married the Christianaux women. The other Scioux, who had not made the compact, continued to war; and seeing some Christianaux with the Assinipoils, broke their heads. The Christianaux furnished the Assinipoils with arms and merchandise.

On the 16th, the Scioux returned to their village, and it was reported that the Ayavois and Otocatas were gone to establish themselves towards the Missouri river, near the Maha, who dwell in that region. On the 28th, the Mantantons and Oujalespoitons arrived at the fort; and after they had encamped in the woods, Wakkantapef came to beg Le Sueur to go to his lodge. He there found sixteen men with women and children, with their faces daubed with black. In the middle of the lodge were several buffalo skins, which were sewed for a carpet. After motioning him to sit down, they wept for the fourth of an hour, and the chief gave him some wild rice to eat, (as was their custom).

* The locality was a branch of the Blue Earth, about a mile above the fort, called by Nicollet Le Sueur river, and on a map published in 1773, the river St. Remi.

Wakandapi or Esteemed sacred, was the name of one of the head men at Red Wing, in 1850.

tom,) putting the first three spoonful to his mouth. After which, he said all present were relatives of Tioscate, whom Le Sueur took to Canada in 1695, and who died there in 1696.

At the mention of Tioscate they began to weep again, and wipe their tears and heads upon the shoulders of Le Sueur. Then Wahkantape again spoke, and said that Tioscate begged him to forget the insult done to the Frenchmen by the Mendeoucantons, and take pity on his brethren by giving them powder and balls whereby they could defend themselves, and gain a living for their wives and children, who languish in a country, full of game, because they had not the means of killing them. "Look," added the chief, "Behold thy children, thy brethren, and thy sisters, it is to thee to see whether thou wishest them to die. They will live if thou givest them powder and ball; they will die if thou refusest."

Lo Sueur granted them their request, but as the Scioux never answer on the spot, especially in matters of importance, and as he had to speak to them about his establishment, he went out of the lodge without saying a word. The chief and all those within followed him as far as the door of the fort; and when he had gone in, they went around it three times, crying with all their strength "Atheouanan!" that is to say, "Father have pity on us." (Ate unyanpi, means Our father.)

The next day he assembled in the fort, the principal men of both villages; and as it is not possible to subdue the Scioux or to hinder them from going to war, unless it be by inducing them to cultivate the earth, he said to them that if they wished to render themselves worthy of the protection of the king, they must abandon their erring life, and form a village near his dwelling, where they would be shielded from the insults of their enemies; and that they might be happy and not hungry, he would give them all the corn necessary to plant a large piece of ground; that the king, their and his chief, in sending him, had forbidden him to purchase beaver skins, knowing that this kind of hunting separates them and exposes them to their enemies; and that in consequence of this he had come to establish himself on Blue river and vicinity, where they had many times assured him were many kinds of beasts, for the skins of which he would give them all things necessary; that they ought to reflect that they could not do without French goods, and that the only way not to want them was, not to go to war with our allied nations.

As it is customary with the Indians to accompany their word with a present proportioned to the affair treated of, he gave them fifty pounds of powder, as many balls, six guns, ten axes, twelve armsful of tobacco and a hatchet pipe.

On the 1st of December, the Mantantons invited Le Sueur to a great feast. Of four of their lodges they had made one, in which was one hundred men seated around, and every one his dish before him. After the meal, Wahkantape, the chief, made them all smoke one after another in the hatchet pipe which had been given them. He then made a present to Le Sueur of a slave and a sack of wild rice, and said to him, showing him his men: "Behold the remains of this great village, which thou hast afortimes seen so numerous! all the others have been killed in war; and the few men whom thou seest in this lodge, accept the present thou hast made them, and are resolved to obey the great chief of all nations, of whom thou hast spoken to us. Thou oughtest not to regard us as Scioux, but as French, and instead of saying the Scioux are miserable, and have no mind, and are fit for nothing but to rob and steal from the French,

thou shalt say my brethren are miserable and have no mind, and we must try to procure some for them. They rob us, but I will take care that they do not lack iron, that is to say, all kinds of goods. If thou dost this, I assure thee that in a little time, the Mantantons will become Frenchmen, and they will have none of those vices, with which thou reproachest us."

Having finished his speech, he covered his face with his garment, and the others imitated him. They wept over their companions who had died in war, and chanted an adieu to their country in a tone so gloomy that one could not keep from partaking of their sorrow.

Wahkantape then made them smoke again, and distributed the presents, and said that he was going to the Mendeouacantons, to inform them of the resolution, and invite them to do the same.

On the 12th, three Mendeouacanton chiefs and a large number of Indians of the same village, arrived at the fort, and the next day gave satisfaction for robbing the Frenchmen. They brought 400 pounds of beaver skins, and promised that the summer following, after their canoes were built and they had gathered their wild rice, that they would come and establish themselves near the French. The same day they returned to their village East of the Mississippi.

NAMES OF THE BANDS OF SIOUX OF THE EAST, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATION.

MANTANTONS—That is to say, Village of the Great Lake which empties into a small one.

MENDEOUACANTONS—Village of Spirit Lake.

QUIOPETONS—Village of the Lake with one River.

PSIOUMANITONS—Village of Wild Rice Gatherers.

OUADEBATONS—The River Village.

OUATEMANETONS—Village of the Tribe who dwell on the point of the Lake.

SONGASQUITONS—The Brave Village.

THE SIOUX OF THE WEST.

TOUCHOUASINTONS—The Village of the Pole.

PSINCHATONS—Village of the Red Wild Rice.

OUJALESPOITONS—Village divided into many small Bands.

PSINOUTANHINTONS—The Great Wild Rice Village.

TINTANGAUGHATONS—The Grand Lodge Village.

OUAPETONS—Village of the Leaf.

OUGHETGEODATONS—Dung Village.

OUAPETONTETONS—Village of those who Shoot in the Large Pine.

HINHANETONS—Village of the Red Stone Quarry.

The above catalogue of villages concludes the extract that La Harpe has made from Le Sueur's Journal.

In the narrative of Major Long's second expedition, there are just the same number of villages of the Gens du Lac or Mdewakanton Sioux mentioned, though the names are different. After leaving the Mille Lac region, the divisions evidently were different, and the villages known by new names.

Charlevoix, in his large and valuable work, prepared by order of the French Government, speaking of the Sioux, remarks: "Our geographies divide that nation into the Wandering Sioux and Sioux of the Prairies—into Sioux of the East and Sioux of

the West. Such a division to me seems not to be well founded. All the Scioux live in the same manner, and it happens that such camp which was last year on the East bank of the Mississippi, will be next year on the West; and those that we have for a time seen on the river Saint Pierre, are perhaps now a great way off on a prairie. The name of Scioux that we give to those Indians, is entirely of our making, or rather it is but the last two syllables of the name of Nadouessioux, as many nations call them. It is the most numerous nation as yet known in Canada. They were peaceable, and not disposed to war, until the Hurons and Iroquois came to their country. They tried to laugh at their simplicity and trained them up to war, at their expense. The Scioux have many women, and they punish conjugal infidelity with severity. They cut off the tip of their noses, and a piece of the skin of the head, and draw it over. I have seen some who thought that those Indians had a Chinese accent. It would be very easy to discover if their language had any affinity with that of the people of China."

In Le Sueur's enumeration of the Scioux of the West, the present Warpetwans or People of the Leaf, Titonwan or People of the Lodges, Sisitwans and Ihanktonwan are easily distinguished, and the latter, at that period, appear to have lived near the Red Pipestone Quarry. The Ouadebatons are marked on Hennepin's map as residing North-east of Mille Lac, and are called also the People of the River. The Ouatemantons probably resided upon Cormorant Point, which juts into Mille Lac. Of the Mantautons, Governor Ramsey, in his valuable and interesting report, remarks: "Another portion, known as the Mantatcnwan, meaning village or community on the Matah; but where the Matah was, and whether lake or river, is at present unknown." Le Sueur shows that they lived on a large lake which was joined to a small one. Hennepin calls Mille Lac, Changasketon Lake, and far North of this he marks the residence of the Chongaskabions or the brave band; and they no doubt are the same as the Songasquions of Le Sueur.

Though Le Sueur, through misinformation, or want of observation, often errs, there appears to be no intention to deceive; and, in reading his narrative, you are impressed with its general truthfulness. He alone of the explorers of Minnesota, can be relied upon. He had men and an outfit that enabled him to make observations with some degree of accuracy; and it is to be hoped that some town named Le Sueur, will at no distant day spring up on the banks of the Minnesota River, and thus perpetuate his name. Not only was he the most accurate, but also the last French explorer of the country. Charlevoix, who visited the valley of the Lower Mississippi in 1722, says that Le Sueur spent a winter in his fort on the banks of the Blue Earth; and that in the following April he went up to the mine about a mile above. In twenty-two days they obtained more than thirty thousand pounds of the substance, four thousand of which were selected and sent to France. In April, 1702, he went back to France, having left men at the post; but on the third of March, 1703, these came back to Mobile, having abandoned Fort L'Huillier on account of ill-treatment from the Indians, and for the want of pecuniary means. The enterprising Le Sueur did not remain on the other side of the Atlantic; and several years after his explorations on the Blue Earth, he is found busy in leading expeditions against the Natchez and other Indians of the Southwest. It is said that he died on the road while passing through the colony of Louisiana.

Among the company of Le Sueur, was Penicaut, a ship carpenter, of strong mind, who distinguished himself in his intercourse with the tribes of the Southwest.

We cannot conclude this portion of the article, upon the early French traders in Minnesota, without noticing De Charleville. He was a relative of Bienville, the commander-general of Louisiana, and thus connected with Le Sueur. At the time of the settlement of the French on the banks of the Mississippi, curiosity led him to ascend this river, far beyond the point reached by Hennepin. He told Du Pratz, the author of a history of Louisiana, that with two Canadians and two Indians, in a birch canoe laden with goods, he proceeded as far as the Falls of St. Anthony. This cataract is described as caused by a flat rock, which crosses the river, and makes a fall of eight or ten feet. After making a portage, he continued his journey for leagues farther, and met the Sioux, whom, it was asserted, lived on both sides of the river. The Sioux informed him that it was a great distance to the sources.

In 1710, the king granted to M. Crozat the exclusive privilege of trading in Louisiana for sixteen years. Charleville was then employed by Crozat, as a trader among the Shawnees, in the present State of Tennessee. His store was situated upon a mound near the present site of Nashville, on the West side of the Cumberland River.

At a very early date, a plan was conceived for drawing away the fur trade from Hudson's Bay. An alliance was contemplated with the Assiniboina and some distant Sioux, who, instead of carrying their peltries on their backs, through snow-drifts to the English, were to be induced to descend the Mississippi in their canoes, towards the St. Pierre or Minnesota, where the climate was more temperate.

CHAPTER VII.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE MEMORIAL OF D'IBERVILLE, ON THE COUNTRY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

THIS memorial is in manuscript, in the archives of Government, at Paris. It was written in 1702, and is a valuable document on the nations and country of the Mississippi. At the solicitation of the Secretary, the authorities granted a copy of the document, for the use of the Historical Society, with the request that it be not published word for word.

D'Iberville, the author, was a man of great reputation, and the son-in-law of Le Sueur, the discoverer of the Minnesota river. Like Perrot, he was a native of Canada. There are some families that appear destined for public life, and to one of these the subject of this sketch belonged. His father was influential, and gave to the world eleven sons, all of whom "acted well their part." One was a Captain of Marine, and was wounded in the attack of the English on Quebec, in 1690; a second bore the same rank, and was killed by the English in Carolina; a third was killed by the Iroquois; a fourth was

Commandant at Rochester ; a fifth met a brother's fate among the Iroquois ; a sixth was Governor of Cayenne ; a seventh was an officer of Marine ; an eighth, a Captain of Infantry, was killed in Louisiana ; a ninth died at Biloxi ; a tenth was, like the subject of the article, Governor of Louisiana.

The writer of the memorial had distinguished himself in naval conflicts in Hudson's Bay, and by order of the government set sail from France with a fleet, in 1698, to found the colony of Louisiana. Leaving his brothers in command, he chiefly occupied his time in traversing the ocean, and bringing supplies to the colony. In 1699 he had returned to the colony a second time, bringing Le Sueur with a company of workmen, to explore the supposed copper mines on the tributary of the Mankahito. On the 10th of February, 1702, Le Sueur returned from the Mankahito to the Gulf of Mexico, and found D'Iberville absent. On the 18th of March he again arrived from France, with supplies, and after spending a few weeks, he again set sail for the old country, Le Sueur accompanying him.

The manuscript of which we propose to give an abstract, was completed on board of the ship on the twentieth day of June, and was no doubt, in part, the labor of Le Sueur whose acquaintance with the Indian nations had been so extensive. The title of the manuscript is "Memorial of M. D'Iberville upon the country of the Mississippi, the Mobile and its environs, their rivers, inhabitants and the commerce which could be carried on in less than five or six years in settling it."

NOTICE OF CHOCTAWS, ETC.

"The fort of the Mobile is about $31^{\circ} 3'$ North ; between the Mississippi and the Mobile at $33^{\circ} 45'$ are the Choctaws, ten leagues West of the river, composed of 3800 or 4000 families—still N. N. E., 45 leagues are the Chicachas (Chickasaws) in latitude $35^{\circ} 20'$ composed of 2000 families. The Mobiliens and Chohomes are near the fort, and number 350 families. * * * * *

Speaking of the river Wabash as the Ohio was then called, the Governor remarks :

THE RIVER OHIO.

"The river Wabash as far as I know, for more than one hundred and twenty miles is not inhabited. I wish to possess it and have it occupied by the Illinois, who will hunt buffalo, deer, and smaller animals which swarm the environs. Where the Illinois now are, they are of no service, being unwilling any longer to carry on the beaver trade. Some people may say as I have heard it said, that they can hunt buffalo in their own country, but I do not think it would be possible. If they hunt on Wabash (Ohio) it will be easy to transport the hides and tallow."

MASCOUTENS, KIKAPOUS, MIAMIS.

"The Illinois having removed we could cause it to be occupied by the Mascoutens and Kikapous. This would bring four hundred and fifty men upon the rivers which empty into the Illinois and Mississippi. They now only hunt the beaver which they sell at the Bay of the Puans (Green Bay) and in the country of the Illinois.

The Miamis *who have left the banks of the Mississippi*, and gone to Chicago on account of the beaver, and those who are at Orithipicatony, and at the Saint Joseph, could readily remove to the Illinois, *where they would join one hundred of their nation who are still at Ouisconsin on the Mississippi.* * * * * *

"The Miamis, Mascoutens, and Kikapous, who were formerly on the Mississippi, placed upon the Illinois or lower down, will withdraw from Canada yearly a commerce of fifteen thousand livres. The Illinois ten thousand, and the Sioux thirty thousand

yearly. If Canada did not desire to trade with the Fox tribe, they would return to the Mississippi, and that would take away from the Canadian trade, ten thousand yearly."

NOTICE OF THE SIOUX.

"If the Sioux remain in their own country they are useless to us, being too distant. We could have no commerce with them except that of the beaver. *M. Le Sueur who goes to France to give an account of this country*, is the proper person to make these movements. He estimates the Sioux at four thousand families, who could settle upon the Missouri."

MAHAS, OTTOES, IOWAYS.

He has spoken to me of another which he calls the Mahas, composed of more than twelve hundred families, the Ayoues (Ioways) and the Octootatas their neighbors, are about three hundred families. They occupy the lands between the Mississippi and the Missouri, about one hundred leagues from the Illinois. These savages do not know the use of arms, and a descent might be made upon them in a river, which is beyond the Wabash on the West" * * * * *

ASSINIBOIN, CNISTINEAUX.

"The Assinibouel, Quenistinos, and people of the North, who are upon the rivers which fall into the Mississippi, and trade at Fort Nelson (Hudson Bay) are about four hundred men. We could prevent them from going there if we wish."

VALUE OF INDIAN COMMERCE.

"In four or five years we can establish a commerce with these savages of sixty or eighty thousand buffalo skins; more than one hundred deer skins, which will produce delivered in France, more than two million four hundred thousand livres yearly. One might obtain for a buffalo skin four or five pounds of wool, which sells for twenty sous, two pounds of horse hair at ten sous.

Besides from smaller peltries, two hundred thousand livres can be made yearly."

THE EARLIEST CENSUS OF THE MISSISSIPPI TRIBES.

In the third volume of the History and Statistics of the Indian tribes, prepared under the direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, by Mr. Schoolcraft, a manuscript, a copy of which is in possession of General Cass, is referred to as containing the earliest enumeration. The following was made thirty-four years before :

"The Sioux, - - - - - Families,	4,000	Chicachas, - - - - -	2,000
Mahas, - - - - -	12,000	Mobilens and Chohomes, - - - - -	350
Octata and Ayoues, - - - - -	300	Concaques, (Conchas) - - - - -	2,000
Cansas, (Kansas), - - - - -	1,500	Ouma, (Houmas) - - - - -	150
Missouri, - - - - -	1,500	Colapissa, - - - - -	250
Akansas, etc., - - - - -	200	Bayougoula, - - - - -	100
Manton, (Mandan) - - - - -	100	People of the Fork, - - - - -	200
Panis, (Pawnee) - - - - -	2,000	Counica, etc., (Tonicas) - - - - -	300
Illinois, of the great village and		Caenea, (Taensa) - - - - -	150
Camaroua (Tamaroa) - - - - -	800	Nadeches, - - - - -	1,500
Moesigamea, (Metchigamiae) - - - - -	200	Belochy, (Biloxi) Pascoboula. - - - - -	100
Kikapous and Mascoutens, - - - - -	450		
Miamis, - - - - -	500	Total, - - - - -	23,850
Chactas, - - - - -	4,000		

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE DOMESTICATION OF THE TRIBES.

"The savage tribes located in the places I have marked out, make it necessary to establish three posts on the Mississippi. One at the Arkansas, another at the Wabash, (Ohio;) and the third at the Missouri. At each post it would be proper to have an officer with a detachment of ten soldiers, with a sergeant and corporal. All Frenchmen should be

allowed to settle there with their families, and trade with the Indians, and they might establish tanneries for properly dressing the buffalo and deer skins for transportation.

No Frenchman shall be allowed to follow the Indians on their hunts, as it tends to keep them hunters as is seen in Canada, and when they are in the woods they do not desire to become tillers of the soil." * * * * *

"I have said nothing in this memoir of which I have not personal knowledge or the most reliable sources. The most of what I propose is founded upon personal reflection, in relation to what might be done for the defence and advancement of the colony * * * * * It will be absolutely necessary that the king should define the limits of this country, in relation to the government of Canada. It is impossible that the commandant of the Mississippi should have a report of those who inhabit the rivers that fall into the Mississippi, and principally those of the river Illinois.

"The Canadians intimate to the savages that they ought not to listen to us, but to the Governor of Canada, who always speaks to them with large presents; that the Governor of the Mississippi is mean, and never sends them anything. This is true, and what I cannot do. It is imprudent to accustom the savages to be spoken to by presents, for with so many, it would cost the king more than the revenue derived from the trade. When they come to us, it will be necessary to bring them in subjection, make them no presents, and compel them to do what we wish, as if they were Frenchmen.

"The Spaniards have divided the Indians into parties on this point, and we can do the same. When one nation does wrong, we can cease to trade with them, and threaten to draw down the hostility of other Indians. We rectify the difficulty by having missionaries, who will bring them into obedience secretly.

"The Illinois and Mascoutens have detained the French canoes they find upon the Mississippi, saying that the Governors of Canada have given them permission. I do not know whether this is so, but if true, it follows that we have not the liberty to send any one on the Mississippi.

"M. Le Sueur would have been taken if he had not been the strongest. Only one of the canoes he sent to the Sioux was plundered."* * * * *

As in the foregoing census there is the first mention of the Omahas, Ottoes and Ioways, we append the following:

James, in his history of Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, remarks, "What length of time the Omawhaws have resided on the Missouri is unknown, but it seems highly probable that they were not there when Mr. Bourgmont prepared his journey to the Padoucas, in the year 1724, as he makes no mention whatever of them. It would seem indeed that they had separated from the great migrating nation, that we shall further notice below, on or near the Mississippi; and that they had since passed slowly across the country or perhaps up the St. Peters, (Minnesota) until they finally struck the Missouri at the mouth of the Sioux River. This is rendered highly probable by the circumstance of Carver having met with them on the St. Peters (Minnesota) in the year 1766 associated with the Shienne and others, all of whom he represents as bands of the Naudowessie nation.

OTO NATION.

"The Oto nation of Indians is distinguished by the name Wah-toh-ta-na. The permanent village of this nation is composed of large dirt lodges, similar to those of the Konzas and Omawhaws, and is situated on the left bank of the river Platte or Nebraska, about

forty miles above its confluence with the Missouri. Although this nation distinguish themselves by the name of *Wah-toh-tata*, yet when questioned respecting the signification of the word, they say it ought to be pronounced *Wah-toh-ta-na* or *Wah-do-tan*, which means those who will copulate. This singular designation which they have adopted, was applied to the nation in consequence of their Chief at the period of their separation from the *Missouries* on the *Mississippi*, having carried off a Squaw from that nation. The nation however, is only known to white people as *Oto*, *Otto*, or *Othouez*. It thus appears that their name has been adopted subsequently to the migration and partition of the great nation, of which they were formally but a band.

ORIGIN OF THE WINNEBAGOES.

This great nation they say, originally resided somewhere to the Northward of the great lakes, and on their emigration Southward, after performing a considerable journey, a large band of them called *Ho-ho-ge*, or *Fish Eaters*, from their fondness for fish, separated from the main body, and established their residence on the margin of a lake.— This band is now known by the name of *Winnebagoes*. During the journey of the great nation, another band separated from them on the *Mississippi*, and received the name of *Pa-ho-ja* or *Gray Snow*, which they still retain, but are known to the white people as *Ioways*, or *Aiaouez*. * * * * * The *Otos* also separated from the nation on the *Mississippi* and struck the *Missouri* near the confluence of the great *Nemawhaw*. Here the *Otos* remained a considerable time for the purpose of hunting. * * * * * From this locality they proceeded up the river to the *Platte*, and after hunting for some time near its confluence, they moved still further up the *Missouri*, and established a village on its bank, about fourteen miles below the *Council Bluffs*. In this position they remained several years; during which time, a band of the *Ioways* took up their residence about one year on the bank of the river, nearly opposite to them. The *Ioways* after having resided in a village on the Iowa part of the *Missouri*, a considerable space of time, were rejoined by the band above mentioned, when they abandoned their position, and returned to the waters of the *Mississippi*, and erected a village on the *Moyene*, (*Des Moines*) where it still remains.”—(“*Expedition to Rocky Mountains, 1819-20.*”)

CHAPTER VIII.

INTERVAL BETWEEN THE EXPLORATION OF LE SUEUR IN 1700, AND JONATHAN CARVER, IN 1766.

IT has been mentioned that those left in charge of the Fort at *Mankahto* by *Le Sueur*, returned to *Montreal* on account of the hostility of the Indians. About this period the *Sauks* and *Foxes*, who used to hunt as far North as the *Sauk Rapids*, though their principal residence was on the *Fox River*, in *Wisconsin*, formed an alliance and waged war against the *Ojibways* and *Illinois*, who were the allies of the French. As a consequence, the *Wisconsin* for many years ceased to be an avenue of trade to the *Mississippi*.

In 1726 a proposition was made by the French commandant at the post on the *Illinois*,

nois, to the officer at Green Bay to exterminate the Foxes. In reply to the proposition the latter says: "We agree that that would be the best expedient, but must maintain that nothing can be more dangerous in case it should fail. It would be necessary to effect a surprize, and to keep them shut up in the Fort as in the last war, for if the Foxes escape to the Sioux, or the Ayounis (Ioways) they would return to destroy us in all the upper country." *

It was during the interval referred to in this chapter that the Ojibway incursions into Minnesota took place. Aided by French fire-arms and advice, the Ojibways advanced by way of the St. Louis River. Under Bi-ous-wah, they drove the Dakotas from their village, and from this point they commenced a warfare, which in time led to the retirement of the Dakotas from Leech, Mille Lac, and other strong-holds, North of the Falls of Saint Anthony, and West of Lake Superior.

Very near the period that France ceded Canada to England the last conflict of the Foxes and Ojibways took place at the Falls of the Saint Croix. The late Anglo-ojibway, Wm. Warren says:

The account which the Ojibwas give of this battle is, that a famous war chief of Lake Superior, whose name was Waub-o-jeeg, or White Fisher sent his war club and wampum of war to call the scattered bands of the Ojibwa tribes, to collect a war party to march against the Sioux villages on the St. Croix and Mississippi. Warriors from Ste. Maries, Kewenaw, Wisconsin and Grand Portage joined his party, and with three hundred warriors Waub-o-jeeg started from Lapointe to march into the enemy's country. He had sent his war club to the village of Sandy Lake, and they had sent tobacco in return, with answer that on a certain day, sixty men from that section of the Ojibwa tribe would meet him at the confluence of Snake river with the St. Croix. On reaching this point on the day designated, and the Sandy Lake party not having arrived as agreed upon, Waub-o-jeeg, not confident in the strength of his numbers, continued down the St. Croix. They arrived at the Falls of St. Croix early in the morning, and while preparing to take their bark canoes over the portage, or carrying place, scouts were sent in advance to reconnoitre. They soon returned with the information that they had discovered a large party of Sioux and Foxes landing at the other end of the portage.

The Ojibwas instantly prepared for battle, and the scouts of the enemy having discovered them, the two hostile parties met as if by mutual appointment, in the middle of the portage. The Foxes after seeing the comparatively small number of the Ojibwas, and over confident in their own superior numbers and prowess, requested the Sioux not to join in the fight, but to sit by and see how quickly they could route the Ojibwas. This request was granted. The fight between the contending warriors of the two tribes, is said to have been fiercely contested, and embellished with many daring acts of personal valor. About noon the Foxes commenced yielding ground, and at last were forced to flee in confusion. They would probably have been driven into the river and killed to a man, had not their allies the Sioux, who had been quietly smoking their pipes and calmly viewing the fight from a distance, at this juncture, yelled their war whoop, and rushed to the rescue of their discomfited friends.

The Ojibwas resisted their new enemies manfully, and it was not until their ammunition had entirely failed that they in turn showed their backs in flight. Few would have returned to their lodges to tell the sad tale of defeat, and death of brave men, had not

* Wisconsin His. Soc. Report, Page 22.

the party of sixty warriors from Sandy Lake, who were to have joined them at the mouth of Snake river, arrived at this opportune moment, and landed at the head of the portage.

Eager for the fight and fresh on the field, this band withstood the onset of the Sioux and Foxes, till their retreating friends could rally again to the battle. The Sioux and Foxes in turn fled, and it is said that the slaughter in their ranks was great. Many were driven over the rocks into the boiling flood below; and every crevice in the cliffs contained a dead or wounded enemy.

From this time the Foxes retired to the South and forever give up the war with their victorious enemies.

The old Ojibwa Chief "Buffalo" of Lapointe, says that the fire of the Foxes was by this stroke nearly extinguished, and they were reduced to fifteen lodges. They placed themselves under the protection of the Osaukies, who are a family of the Algonquin stock, and by offering to be their cutters of wood and carriers of water, were at last incorporated into that tribe. The Foxes speak a distinct language and do not belong to the Algonquin Council Fires. The Ojibwas term them, O-dug-aum-eeeg-or people of the opposite side."

The Foxes being at last dislodged from the Fox river, French traders began to come from Mackinaw to the Mississippi, by way of Green Bay.

In the year 1755, a French fort for the first time was established at Prairie du Chien,* and drew around it a number of voyageurs and coureurs des bois, whose descendants are found in Minnesota.

In an old European Atlas, in the Library of the Philadelphia Athenæum, there is a map with a post called "St. Nicholas" at the mouth of the Wisconsin.

ENGLISH TAKE POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY.

In the fall of 1761, a detachment of English soldiers left Detroit to take possession of Green Bay and the adjacent country.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has lately published the journal of the commanding officer of the post, from which we make some extracts:

"We arrived and took post at La Bay (Green Bay,) the twelfth of October; found the fort quite rotten, the stockade ready to fall, the houses without cover, our fire-wood far off, and none to be got when the river closed."

Accompanying this officer were two English traders,—the first ever in the country,—McKay, from Albany, and Goddard from Montreal.

WINNEBAGOES AND IOWAYS ASK FOR TRADERS.

"August 6th, 1762. Three Puan chiefs with four ambassadors from the Avoys (Ioway) nation came. I made the same speech to them as to the rest. The chief of the third town of Puans brought me a large belt, confirming what both the others had said before, telling me he had seen the belts I had sent, and that he had never been at war with the English, nor could the French commander persuade him to it. He brought the other chiefs to confirm what he said, as he never knew any harm the English had done. He made the same demand for trading, with the same promise of protection for them, and also asked for a gunsmith and rum. The Avoys (Ioways) then spoke, said they had come very far, had brought no belts, as they had come to see if I would shake hands and forgive them as I had done the rest."

*See petition of old settlers at Prairie du Chien, forty years ago, in the "American State Papers."

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JONATHAN CARVER.

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INTERVIEW OF THE ENGLISH AND SIOUX.

On March 1, 1763, twelve warriors of the Sous came here. It is certainly the greatest nation of Indians ever yet found. Not above two thousand of them were ever armed with fire-arms, the rest depending entirely on bows and arrows, which they use with more skill than any other Indian nation in America. They can shoot the wildest and largest beasts in the woods at seventy or one hundred yards distant. They are remarkable for their dancing, and the other nations take the fashions from them. * * * * This nation is always at war with the Chippewas, those who destroyed Mishamakinak. They told me with warmth that if ever the Chippewas or any other Indians wished to obstruct the passage of the traders coming up, to send them word, and they would come and cut them off from the face of the earth, as all Indians were their slaves or dogs. I told them I was glad to see them, and hoped to have a lasting peace with them.— They then gave me a letter wrote in French, and two belts of wampum from their king, in which he expressed great joy on hearing of their being English at his post. The letter was written by a French trader, whom I had allowed to go among them last fall, with a promise of his behaving well, which he did better than any Canadian I ever knew.

* * * * With regard to traders, I told them I would not allow any to go amongst them, as I then understood they lay out of the government of Canada, but made no doubt they would have traders from Mississippi in the spring. They went away extremely well pleased. "June 14th, 1763, the traders came down from the Sack country, and confirmed the news of Landsing and his son being killed by the French. There came with the traders some Puans, and four young men with one chief of the Avoy nation to demand traders." * * * *

On the nineteenth, a deputation of Winnebagoes, Sacs, Foxes, and Menominees arrived with a Frenchman named Pennensha. "This Pennensha is the same man who wrote the letter the Sous brought with them, in French, and at the same time held council with that great nation in favor of the English, by which he much promoted the interests of the latter, as appeared by the behaviour of the Sous. He brought with him a pipe from the Sous, desiring that as the road is now clear, they would by no means allow the Chippewas to obstruct it, or give the English any disturbance, or prevent the traders from coming up to them. If they did so they would send all their warriors and cut them off."

CHAPTER IX.

MINNESOTA AS A BRITISH DOMINION—EXPLORATIONS OF JONATHAN CARVER.

THOUGH the treaty of 1763, made at Versailles, between France and England, ceded all the Territory comprised within the limits of Wisconsin and Minnesota, to the latter power, the English did not for a long time obtain a foothold.

The French traders having purchased wives from the Indian tribes, they managed to preserve a feeling of friendship towards their king, long after the trading posts at Green Bay and Sault St. Marie had been discontinued.

The price paid for peltries by those engaged in the fur trade at New Orleans was also

higher than that which the British could afford to give, so that the Indians sought for French goods in exchange for their skins.

Finding it useless to compete with the French of the lower Mississippi, the English Government established no posts of trade or defence beyond Mackinac. The country West of Lake Michigan appears to have been trodden by but few British subjects, previous to him who forms the subject of the present article, and whose name has become somewhat famous in consequence of his heirs having laid claims to the site of St. Paul, and many miles adjacent.

Jonathan Carver was a native of Connecticut. It has been asserted, that he was a lineal descendant of John Carver, the first Governor of Plymouth Colony, but the only definite information that the writer can obtain concerning his ancestry, is that his grandfather, Wm. Carver, was a native of Wigan, Lancashire, England, and a captain in King William's army during the campaign in Ireland, and for meritorious services received an appointment as an officer of the Colony of Connecticut.

His father was a justice of the peace in the new world, and in 1732, at Stillwater, or Canterbury, Connecticut, the subject of this sketch was born. At the early age of fifteen he was called to mourn the death of his father. He then commenced the study of medicine, but his roving disposition could not bear the confines of a doctor's office, and feeling perhaps that his genius would be cramped by pestle and mortar, at the age of eighteen he purchased an ensign's commission in one of the regiments Connecticut raised during the French war. He was of medium stature, and of strong mind and quick perceptions.

In the year 1757, he was present at the massacre of Fort William Henry, and narrowly escaped with his life.

After the peace of 1763, between France and England was declared, Carver conceived the project of exploring the North-west. Leaving Boston in the month of June, 1766, he arrived at Mackinac, then the most distant British post, in the month of August. Having obtained a credit on some French and English traders from Major Rodgers, the officer in command, he started with them Westward, on the third day of September. Pursuing the usual route to Green Bay, they arrived there on the eighteenth.

The French Fort at that time was standing, though much decayed. It was some years previous to his arrival, garrisoned for a short time by an officer and thirty English soldiers, but they having been captured by the Menominees, it was abandoned.

In company with the traders he left Green Bay on the twentieth, and ascending Fox river, arrived on the twenty-fifth at an island at the East end of Lake Winnebago, containing about fifty acres.

Here he found a Winnebago village of fifty houses. He asserts that a woman was in authority. In the month of October, the party was at the portage of the Wisconsin, and descending that stream, they arrived on the ninth at a town of the Sacks. While here he visited some lead mines about fifteen miles distant. An abundance of lead was also seen in the village, that had been brought from the mines.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN DESCRIBED.

On the tenth, they arrived at the first village of the Ottigauemies, (Foxes,) and about five miles before the Wisconsin joins the Mississippi, he perceived the remnants of another village, and learned that it had been deserted about thirty years before, and that the inhabitants soon after their removal built a town on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Quisconsin, at a place called by the French La Prairie les Chiens, which signified

the Dog Plains. It is a large town, and contains about three hundred families. The houses are all well built, after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a dry rich soil.

I saw here many horses of a good size and shape. This town is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and where those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their sale here. This is determined by a general council of the chiefs, who consult whether it would be more conducive to their interest to sell their goods at this place, or carry them on to Louisiana or Michilimackinack.

At a small stream called Yellow River, opposite Prairie du Chien, the traders who had thus far accompanied Carver took up their residence for the winter.

From this point he proceeded in a canoe, with a Canadian Voyageur, and a Mohawk Indian, as companions.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

Just before reaching Lake Pepin, while his attendants were one day preparing dinner, he walked out and was struck with the peculiar appearance of the surface of the country, and thought it was the site of some vast artificial earth-work.

It is a fact worthy of remembrance that he was the first to call the attention of the civilized world to the existence of ancient monuments in the Mississippi Valley. We give his own description :

"On the first of November, I reached Lake Pepin, a few miles below which I landed; and whilst the servants were preparing my dinner, I ascended the bank to view the country. I had not proceeded far, before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived at a little distance, a partial elevation that had the appearance of entrenchment. On a nearer inspection, I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago. Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly see that it had once been a breast-work of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flanks reached to the river.

"Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular and fashioned with as much military skill as if planned by Vauban himself.—The ditch was not visible; but I thought, on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation, also, I am convinced that it must have been designed for that purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the river, nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way that commanded it; a few straggling lakes were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracks were worn across it by the feet of the elks or deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered, I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myself since, for not encamping on the spot, and drawing an exact plan of it.—To show that this description is not the offspring of a heated imagination, or the chimerical tale of a mistaken traveler. I find, on enquiry, since my return, that Mons. St. Pierre and several traders have, at different times, taken notice of similar appearances, upon which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them so minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exist in a country that has hitherto

(according to the generally received opinion) been the seat of war to untutored Indians alone, whose whole stock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose only breast-work, even at present, is the thick-
et, I know not. I have given as exact an account as possible of this singular appearance, and leave to future explorers of those distant regions, to discover whether it is a production of nature or art. Perhaps the hints I have here given, might lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the ancient state of realms, that we at present believe to have been, from the earliest period, only the habitations of savages."

LAKE PEPIN.

Lake Pepin excited his admiration, as it has that of every traveller since his day, and here he remarks: "I observed the ruins of a French Factory, where it is said Captain St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudawessies, before the reduction of Canada."

The first trading houses North of the Illinois river, were erected in the vicinity of Lake Pepin.

As early as 1687, Nicholas Perrot was trading in the neighborhood of the Sioux, and Charlevoix, in his History of New France, says that he built a fort near the mouth of the Lake.

Upon the map of Nicollet, on the East side of the Lake, near Porcupine-Quill Creek, the ruins of a French fort are marked. Pike, in his Journal of 1805, remarks: "Just below the Point Le Sable, the French, under Frontenac, who had driven the Renards from the Wisconsin, and chased them up the Mississippi, built a Stockade on this Lake, as a barrier against the savages. It became a noted factory for the Sioux."

In a map published in Europe as early as 1720, there is a fort marked on the Lake. These facts are confirmed by the Dakota tradition, which asserts, that the first trading post was located at the foot of the Lake.

DAKOTAS AT THE ST. CROIX.

Carver's first acquaintance with the Dakotas commenced near the river St. Croix. It would seem that the erection of trading posts on Lake Pepin had enticed the Sioux from their old residence on Rum river and Mille Lac.

He says: "Near the river St. Croix, reside bands of the Naudowessie Indians, called the River Bands. This nation is composed at present of eleven bands. They were originally twelve, but the Assinipoile, some years ago, revolting and separating themselves from the others, there remain only at this time eleven. Those I met here are termed the River Bands, because they chiefly dwell near the banks of this river; the other eight are generally distinguished by the title of Naudowessies of the Plains, and inhabit a country more to the Westward. The name of the former are Nehogatawonahs, the Mawtawbauntowahs, and Shashweentowahs."

On the Otis Farm, above Marine Mills, in the Valley of the St. Croix, there are numerous mounds, and every appearance of an old Indian settlement. Dakota tradition alleges that there was once a small and powerful band that lived above Lake St. Croix. The Mantanton Dakotas, which are spoken of by Le Sueur and Carver, may refer to these under the designation of M-awtawbauntowahs.

DESCRIPTION OF THE VICINITY OF ST. PAUL.

"About thirteen miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, at which I arrived the tenth

day after I left Lake Pepin, is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakon-teebe (Wakan-tipi). The entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high, and about thirty feet broad; the bottom consists of fine clear sand. About thirty feet from the entrance, begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance, for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it. I threw a small pebble towards the interior part of it with my utmost strength; I could hear that it fell into the water, and notwithstanding it was of a small size, it caused an astonishing and terrible noise, that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the wall, which was composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might be easily penetrated with a knife; a stone everywhere to be found near the Mississippi." The remnants of this cave are still visible in Dayton's Bluff, and a full history of it may be found in the Annals of 1852.

"At a little distance from this dreary cavern, is the burying-place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians. Though these people have no fixed residence, being in tents, and seldom but a few months in one spot, yet they always bring the bones of the dead to this place."

HIS JOURNEY TO, AND IMPRESSIONS OF THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY.

"Ten miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, the River St. Pierre, called by the natives Wadapaw Menesotor, falls into the Mississippi from the West. It is not mentioned by Father Hennepin, though a large, fair river. This omission, I consider, must have proceeded from a small island, (Faribault's,) that is situated exactly in its entrance."

When he reached the Minnesota river, the ice became so troublesome that he left his canoe in the neighborhood of what is now Findlay's Ferry, and walked to St. Anthony, in company with a young Winnebago chief, who had never seen the curling waters. The chief, on reaching the eminence some distance below Cheever's, began to invoke his gods, and offer oblations to the spirit in the waters.

FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY.

"In the middle of the Falls stands a small island, about *forty feet* broad, and somewhat longer, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and spruce trees, and about half way between this island and the Eastern shore, is a rock, lying at the very edge of the Falls, in an oblique position, that appeared to be about five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty long. At a little distance below the Falls, stands a small island of about an acre and a half, on which grow a great number of oak trees."

From this description, it would appear that the little island, now some distance in front of the Falls, was once in the very midst, and shows that a constant recession has been going on, and that in ages long past, they were not far from the Minnesota river. A century hence, if the wearing of the last five years is any criterion, the Falls will be above the town of St. Anthony.

No description is more glowing than Carver's, of the country adjacent:

"The country around them is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in the summer are covered with the finest verdure, and interspersed with little groves that give a

pleasing variety to the prospect. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at the distance of four miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view I believe cannot be found throughout the universe."

He arrived at the Falls on the 17th of November, 1766, and appears to have visited Elk river.

CARVER'S VOYAGE UP THE MINNESOTA.

On the twenty-fifth of November, he had returned to the place opposite the Minnesota, where he had left his canoe, and this stream as yet not being obstructed with ice, he commenced its ascent, with the colors of Great Britain flying at the stern of his canoe. There is no doubt that he entered this river, but how far he explored it cannot be ascertained. He speaks of the Rapids near Shakopee, and asserts that he went as far as two hundred miles beyond Mendota. He remarks:—

"On the 7th of December, I arrived at the utmost extent of my travels towards the West, where I met a large party of the Naudowessie Indians, among whom I resided some months."

After speaking of the upper bands of the Dakotas, and their allies, he adds that he "left the habitations of the hospitable Indians the latter end of April, 1767, but did not part from them for several days, as I was accompanied on my journey by near three hundred of them, to the mouth of the river St. Pierre. At this season, these bands annually go to the great cave, (Dayton's Bluff,) before mentioned."

SPEECH MADE AT DAYTON'S BLUFF.

"When we arrived at the great cave, and the Indians had deposited the remains of their deceased friends in the burial place that stands adjacent to it, they held their great council, into which I was admitted. On this occasion I made the following speech, which I insert to give my readers a specimen of the language and manner in which it is necessary to address the Indians, so as to engage their attention. It was delivered on the first day of May, 1767:

"My brothers!—Chiefs of the numerous and powerful Naudowessies!—I rejoice that through my long abode with you I can now speak to you, though after an imperfect manner, in your own tongue, like one of your own children. I rejoice also that I have had an opportunity so frequently to inform you of the glory and power of the great king that reigns over the English and other nations; who is descended from a very ancient race of sovereigns, as old as the earth and water; whose feet stands on two great islands, longer than any you have ever seen; whose head reaches to the sun, and whose arms encircle the whole earth; the number of whose warriors are equal to the trees in the valleys, the stalks of rice in yonder marshes, or the blades of grass in your great plains; who has hundreds of canoes of his own, of such amazing bigness, that all the waters in your country would not suffice for one of them to swim in; each of which have guns, not small, like mine, which you see before you, but of such magnitude that an hundred of your stoutest young men would with difficulty be able to carry one.

"You may remember the other day, when we were encamping at Wadapaw Menesotor, (Minnesota river,) the black clouds, the wind, the fire, the stupendous noise, and terrible cracks, and the trembling of the earth which then alarmed you, and gave you reason to think that your gods were angry with you; not unlike these are the warlike implements of the English, when they are fighting the battles of their great king.

Several of the Chiefs of your bands have often told me in times past, when I dwelt

with you in your tents, that they much wished to be counted among the children and allies of the great king, my master. * * * *

Being now about to take my leave of you, and to return to my own country, a long way toward the rising sun, I again ask you to tell me whether you continue of the same mind as when I spoke to you in council last winter; and as there are now several of your chiefs here who came from the great plains toward the setting of the sun, whom I have never spoken with in council before, I ask you to let me know if you are willing to acknowledge yourselves the children of my great master, the king of the English.

I charge you not to give heed to bad reports, for there are wicked birds flying about among the neighboring nations, who may whisper evil things in your ears against the English, contrary to what I have told you; you must not believe them, for I have told you the truth.

As for the Chiefs that are about to go to Michilimackinac, I shall take care to make for them and their suit a straight road, smooth waters, and a clear sky, that they may go there and smoke the pipe of peace, and rest secure on a beaver blanket under the shade of the great tree of peace. Farewell!"

Though the reader will doubt if such a speech was ever made by Jonathan, in the Dakota tongue, he will readily admit its grandiloquence.

BURIAL CEREMONIES OF THE DAKOTAS.

"When the Nadowessies brought their dead for interment to the great cave (St. Paul,) I attempted to get an insight into the remaining burial rites, but whether it was on account of the stench which arose from so many bodies, or whether they chose to keep this part of their custom secret from me, I could not discover. I found however, that they considered my curiosity as ill-timed and therefore I withdrew. * * *

One formality among the Nadowessies in mourning for the dead, is very different from any mode I observed in the other nations, through which I passed. The men, to show how great their sorrow is, pierce the flesh of their arms above the elbows with arrows, and the women cut and gash their legs with sharp broken flints, till the blood flows very plentifully. * * *

After the breath is departed, the body is dressed in the same attire it usually wore, his face is painted, and he is seated in an erect posture on a mat or skin, placed in the middle of the hut, with his weapons by his side. His relatives seated around, each harangues in turn the deceased, and if he has been a great warrior recounts his heroic actions nearly to the following purport, which in the Indian language is extremely poetical and pleasing :

"You still sit among us, Brother, your person retains its usual resemblance, and continues similar to ours, without any visible deficiency, except it has lost the power of action! But whither is that breath flown, which a few hours ago sent up smoke to the Great Spirit? Why are those lips silent, that lately delivered to us expressions and pleasing language? Why are those feet motionless that a short time ago were fleetest than the deer on yonder mountains? Why useless hang those arms that could climb the tallest tree, or draw the toughest bow? Alas every part of that frame which we lately beheld with admiration and wonder, is now become as inanimate as it was three hundred years ago! We will not however bemoan thee as if thou wast forever lost to us, or that thy name would be buried in oblivion; thy soul yet lives in the great country of Spirits with those of thy nation that have gone before thee, and though we are left behind to perpetuate thy fame, we shall one day join thee.

"Actuated by the respect we bore thee whilst living, we now come to tender thee the last act of kindness in our power ; that thy body might not lie neglected on the plain and become a prey to the beasts of the field or fowls of the air, we will take care to lay it with those of thy predecessors who have gone before thee ; hoping at the same time that thy spirit will feed with their spirits and be ready to receive ours when we shall also arrive at the great country of Souls."

For this speech Carver is principally indebted to his imagination, but it is well conceived, and suggested one of Schiller's poems, called the "Death Song of a Nadowessie Chief," which Goethe considered one of his finest productions, and which has received two translations into English, one by Sir John Herschell, and the other by Sir E. L. Bulwer.

It appears from other sources that Carver's visit to the Dakotas was of some effect in bringing about friendly intercourse between them and the commander of the English force at Mackinac.

The earliest mention of the Sioux, in any public British documents that we know of, is in the correspondence between Sir Wm. Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Colony of New York, and General Gage, in command of the forces.

On the eleventh of September, less than six months after Carver's speech at Dayton's Bluff, and the departure of a number of Chiefs to the English Fort at Mackinac, Johnson writes to General Gage:—"Though I wrote you some days ago, yet I would not mind saying something again on the score of the vast expenses incurred, and, as I understand, still incurring at Michilimackinac, chiefly on pretence of making a peace between the Sioux and Chippeweighs, with which I think we have very little to do, in good policy or otherwise."

Sir William Johnson, in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, one of his Majesty's Ministers dated August 17th, 1768, again refers to the subject:

"Much greater part of those who go a trading are men of such circumstances and disposition as to venture their persons everywhere for extravagant gain; yet the consequences to the public are not to be slighted, as we may be led into a general quarrel through their means. The Indians in the part adjacent to Michilimackinac have been treated with at a very great expense for some time previous.

"Major Rodgers brings a considerable charge against the former for meditating a peace between some tribes of the Sioux and some of the Chippeweighs, which, had it been attended with success, would only have been interesting to a very few French, and others, that had goods in that part of the Indian country, but the contrary has happened, and they are now more violent, and war against one another."

CARVER'S FORESIGHT.

Though a wilderness of over one thousand miles intervened between the Falls of St. Anthony and the white settlements of the English, he was fully impressed with the idea that the territory now organized under the name of Minnesota, on account of its beauty and fertility, would attract settlers.

Speaking of the advantages of the country, he says that the future population will be "able to convey their produce to the seaports with great facility, the current of the river from its source to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, being extremely favorable for doing this in small craft. This might also in time be facilitated by canals or shorter cuts, and a communication opened by water with New York, by way of the Lakes."

NORTHERN ROUTE TO THE PACIFIC.

The subject of this sketch was confident that a route could be discovered by way

the Minnesota river, which "would open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and the English settlements in the East Indies."

Carver having returned to England, interested Whitworth, a member of Parliament, in the Northern route. Had not the American Revolution commenced, they proposed to have built a fort at Lake Pepin, to have proceeded up the Minnesota, until they found, as they supposed they could, a branch of the Missouri, and from thence journeying over the summit of lands, until they came to a river which they called Oregon, which they would descend to the Pacific.

In England, Carver appears to have had difficulty, and soon became quite reduced, and in 1779 he became a clerk in a lottery office, and married, while his first wife was living in America. After his death, the children of each wife kept up a correspondence.

He was a ready writer, and prepared, besides his travels, a *Gazetteer*, and a *Treatise* on the Tobacco Plant, and seems to have met with some attention from the literary circles.

He died in great want, at the age of forty-eight, in 1680. In 1817, some of his heirs visited this country with the following

DEED PURPORTING TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN AT THE CAVE IN THE BLUFF BELOW ST. PAUL.

"To Jonathan Carver, a Chief under the most mighty and potent George the Third, King of the English, and other nations, the fame of whose warriors has reached our ears, and has been now fully told us by our *good brother Jonathan*, aforesaid, whom we rejoin to have come among us, and bring us good news from his country.

We, Chiefs of the Naudowessies, who have hereunto set our seals, do by these presents, for ourselves and heirs forever, in return for the aid and other good services done by the said Jonathan to ourselves and allies, give, grant and convey to him, the said Jonathan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain tract of territory of land, bounded as follows, viz: from the Falls of St. Anthony, running on the East bank of the Mississippi, nearly Southeast, as far as Lake Pepin, where the Chippewa joins the Mississippi, and from thence Eastward, five days travel, accounting twenty English miles per day, and from thence again to the Falls of St. Anthony, on a direct straight line. We do, for ourselves, heirs, and assigns, forever give unto the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns, with all the trees, rocks, and rivers therein, reserving the sole liberty of hunting and fishing on land not planted or improved by the said Jonathan, his heirs and assigns, to which we have affixed our respective seals.

At the Great Cave, May 1st, 1767."

In 1821, General Leavenworth, in behalf of the United States, made inquiries of the Sioux, but could learn nothing of the two Chiefs whose names were attached to the deed.

In 1823, a committee of the United States Senate reported adversely to the petition of the heirs of Carver.

ORIGIN OF THE DAKOTAS.

Carver in common with other travellers had his theory. He supposed that they came from Asia. He remarks "But this might have been at different times and from various parts; from Tartary, China, Japan, the inhabitants of these places resemble each other. * * * * *

"It is very evident that some of the names and customs of the American Indians re-

semble those of the Tartars, and I make no doubt but that in some future era, and this not very distant, it will be reduced to certainty that during some of the wars between the Tartars and the Chinese, a part of the inhabitants of the Northern provinces were driven from their native country, and took refuge in some of the isles before mentioned, and from thence found their way into America. * * * * *

"Many words are used both by the Chinese and Indians which have a resemblance to each other, not only in their sound but in their signification. The Chinese call a slave Shungo; and the Naudowessie Indians whose language, from their little intercourse with the Europeans, is least corrupted, term a dog Shungush (Shoankah.) The former denominate our species of their tea Shoushong; the latter call their tobacco Shous-asau (Chanshasha.) Many other of the words used by the Indians, contain the syllables *che*, *chau*, and *chu*, after the dialect of the Chinese." The comparison of languages have become a rich source of historical knowledge, yet very many of the analogies traced are fanciful. The remark of Humbolt, in "Cosmos" is worthy of remembrance. "As the structure of American idioms appears remarkably strange to nations speaking the modern languages of Western Europe, and who readily suffer themselves to be led away by some accidental analogies of sound. Theologians have generally believed that they could trace an affinity with the Hebrew, Spanish colonists with the Basque and the English or French settlers with Gaelic, Erse, or the Bas Breton. I one day met on the coast of Peru, a Spanish naval officer, and an English whaling Captain, the former of whom declared that he had heard Basque spoken at Tahiti, the other Gaelic or Erse at the Sandwich Islands.

The following documents were called forth by the heirs of Carver, petitioning the United States to give them a title to the land upon which Saint Paul stands, and many miles more, because of an alleged grant of land, made by the Dakotas, to Captain Jonathan Carver, of the British army:—

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1821.

SIR :—Agreeably to your request, I have the honor to inform you what I have understood from the Indians of the Sioux Nation, as well as some facts within my own knowledge, as to what is commonly termed Carver's Grant. The grant purports to be made by the chiefs of the Sioux of the Plains, and one of the chiefs uses the sign of a serpent, and the other a turtle, purporting that their names are derived from those animals.

The land lies on the East side of the Mississippi. The Indians do not recognize or acknowledge the grant to be valid, and they (among others) assign the following reasons :

(1.) The Sioux of the Plains never owned a foot of land on the East side of the Mississippi. The Sioux Nation is divided into two grand divisions, viz : The Sioux of the Lake, or perhaps more literally Sioux of the River, and Sioux of the Plain. The former subsists by hunting and fishing, and usually move from place to place by water, in canoes, during the summer season, and travel on the ice in the winter, when not on their hunting excursions. The latter subsist entirely by hunting, and have no canoes, nor do they know but little about the use of them. They reside in the large prairies West of the Mississippi, and follow the buffalo, upon which they entirely subsist ; these are called Sioux of the Plain, and never owned land East of the Mississippi.

(2.) The Indians say they have no knowledge of any such chiefs, as those who

have signed the grant to Carver, either amongst the Sioux of the River, or Sioux of the Plain. They say that if Captain Carver did ever obtain a deed or grant, it was signed by some foolish young men who were not chiefs, and who were not authorized to make a grant. Amongst the Sioux of the River there are no such names.

(3.) They say the Indians never received any thing for the land, and they have no intention to part with it, without a consideration. From my knowledge of the Indians, I am induced to think they would not make so considerable a grant, and have it go into full effect, without receiving a substantial consideration.

(4.) They have, and ever have had the possession of the land, and intend to keep it. I know that they are very particular in making every person who wishes to cut timber on that tract, obtain their permission to do so, and to obtain payment for it. In the month of May last, some Frenchmen brought a large raft of red cedar timber out of the Chippewa river, which timber was cut on the tract before mentioned. The Indians at one of the villages on the Mississippi, where the principal chief resided, compelled the Frenchmen to land the raft, and would not permit them to pass until they had received pay for the timber; and the Frenchmen were compelled to leave their raft with the Indians until they went to Prairie du Chien, and obtained the necessary articles and made the payment required.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

H. LEAVENWORTH.

To JOSIAH MEIGS, Esq., Com. General Land Office.

[Communicated to the Senate, January 23, 1823.]

Mr. Van Dyke, from the committee on public lands, to whom was referred the petition of Samuel Harrison, agent for the heirs of Captain Jonathan Carver, praying for the recognition and confirmation of an Indian deed, for a large tract of land near St. Anthony's Falls, on the Mississippi; and also the petition of the Rev. Samuel Peters, L.L.D., who claims said tract of land as assignee of the heirs of said Captain Carver, and prays that he may be permitted to take possession of the same, reported:

The petitioners state, that Captain Jonathan Carver, in the year 1766, took a long tour among the Indian tribes, two hundred miles West of the Falls of Saint Anthony, in the Mississippi, and made important discoveries during his travel and residence of two years and five months, with various Indian tribes, which he caused to be printed and published in London, in 1773. That by his conciliatory measures, he gained the good will of the Indian tribes, and became the peacemaker between two large nations who were at war; and to reward him for his wisdom and friendly interposition, the sachems of the Naudowessies, were pleased to grant, and accordingly gave to him and his heirs, a deed for a tract of land therein specially described, dated at the Great Cave, May the 1st, 1767; that the chief of said tribe, made him a chief of their tribe on the same day, and he then engaged to return and settle in said territory with his family and connections.

That Captain Jonathan Carver afterwards returned to Boston and sailed for London, where he arrived in the year 1769, and soon after laid his deed before the British government, praying for the confirmation of it, and received for an answer that it should be confirmed as soon as the history of his travels was printed and published. But in consequence of the misunderstanding which existed between Great Britain and Amer-

ica, the ratification of the deed was suspended. That Captain Jonathan Carver died in London, January 31st., 1780, leaving a numerous progeny; and by the establishment of the Independence of America, the right to ratify Indian grants devolved upon the government of the United States.

The Rev. Samuel Peters, in his petition, further states, that Lefei, the present emperor of the Sioux and Naudowessies, and Red Wing, a sachem, the heirs and successors of the two grand chiefs who signed the said deed to Captain Carver, have given satisfactory and positive proof, that they allowed their ancestors' deed to be genuine, good and valid, and that Captain Carver's heirs and assigns, are the owners of said territory, and may occupy it free of all molestation.

The committee have examined and considered the claims thus exhibited by the petitioners, and remark that the original deed is not produced, nor any competent legal evidence offered, of its execution; nor is there any proof that the persons, who it is alleged made the deed, were the chiefs of said tribe, nor that (if chiefs) they had authority to grant and give away the land belonging to their tribe. The paper annexed to the petition, as a copy of said deed, has no subscribing witnesses; and it would seem impossible at this remote period, to ascertain the important fact, that the persons who signed the deed comprehended, and understood the meaning and effect of their act.

The want of proof as to these facts, would interpose in the way of the claimant's insuperable difficulties. But, in the opinion of the committee, the claim is not such as the United States are under any obligation to allow, even if the deed were proved in legal form.

The British government, before the time when the alleged deed bears date, had deemed it prudent and necessary, for the preservation of peace with the Indian tribes under their sovereignty, protection and dominion, to prevent British subjects from purchasing lands from the Indians; and this rule of policy was made known and enforced by the proclamation of the king of Great Britain, of 7th October, 1763, which contains an express prohibition.

Captain Carver, aware of the law, and knowing that such a contract could not vest the legal title in him, applied to the British government to ratify and confirm the Indian grant, and though it was competent for that government then to confirm the grant, and vest the title of said land in him, yet, from some cause, that government did not think proper to do it.

The territory has since become the property of the United States, and an Indian grant, not good against the British government, would appear to be not binding upon the United States government.

What benefit the British government derived from the services of Captain Carver, by his travels and residence among the Indians, that government alone could determine, and alone could judge what remuneration those services deserved.

One fact appears from the declaration of Mr. Peters, in his statement in writing, among the papers exhibited; namely, that the British government did give Captain Carver, the sum of one thousand, three hundred and seventy-five pounds, six shillings, and eight pence sterling. To the United States, however, Captain Carver rendered no services which could be assumed as any equitable ground for the support of the petitioners claim.

The committee being of opinion that the United States are not bound, in law or equity,

to confirm the said alleged Indian grant, recommended the adoption of the following resolution :—

" *Resolved*, That the prayer of the petitioners ought not to be granted."

The Rev. Samuel Peters, here spoken of, was formerly an Episcopal minister in Connecticut. Being a tory, he went back to England after the Declaration of Independence. After many years he returned to this country, and died, at an advanced age, in New York city.

CHAPTER X.

BRITISH TRADE IN MINNESOTA.

THE father of the late General Charles Gratiot was one of the most prominent of the fur traders in the Northwest. From an interesting sketch prepared by Ex-Governor Reynolds of Illinois, the following facts were learned :

"He was born in the celebrated city of Lausanne, Switzerland, in the year 1747. His family and connections were of the first respectability and wealth of that city. They were strong Huguenots, and supposed it to be their duty to educate their son Charles Gratiot, in that faith in London.

"At the age of ten years he was placed in the care of a friend in the metropolis of the British empire to receive his education. His talents were soon developed, so that he was discovered to possess an extraordinary strong mind. He was in the hands of wealthy and influential merchants, who believed that the *summum bonum* of human happiness to consist in two things: *neatly kept books*, and *great wealth*. Under these circumstances, young Gratiot was mostly prepared for commerce; but his genius disdained the sordid shackles of traffic when the freedom of man came in contact.

"After receiving his education, at the age of eighteen he sailed from London for Canada, and joined at Montreal a wealthy uncle. He immediately formed a partnership, for the Northwest Indian trade, with Messrs. Kay and McRae.

"It must be recollected that in early times, and particularly with the English in Canada, the Northwest trade with the Indians was the main channel of wealth and fame; and in fact, almost all the enterprising and active young men of that day, whose energies and talents entitled them to fame and honor, turned their attention to the Northwest trade.

"Charles Gratiot, in the year 1767, when he was only twenty years of age, embarked in this trade, and bade Canada a long farewell. His partners were stationed, one at Mackinaw, and the other in Montreal, while he himself was the active, intelligent and business partner, who extended the commerce of the company from the lakes and waters, of the Maamee, across the Wabash country to the Mississippi, and from the Falls of St. Anthony to the mouth of the Ohio. As his business increased, his mind and energies in the same proportion improved and developed themselves. He was the master spirit in commerce throughout this vast region of country, and the company of which he was partner employed seventy or eighty thousand dollars in their Indian trade. Charles Gratiot had the entire control of this large sum, and all commercial transactions within this extended territory."

He remained in that region of country near Lake Superior for some years, trading with the Indians, receiving his supplies of goods from Mackinaw, and returning the proceeds of sales also to that place. In the year 1774 he turned his attention to the Illinois country, and established stores both at Cahokia and Kaskaskia. He also extended his trade across the Wabash Valley to the waters of the Maumee; so that his vast operations embraced four or five States of the present Union in the Northwest.

In the year 1774, some enterprising men in Montreal, who had a practical knowledge of the Indian trade, formed a company, styled the Northwest Company of Montreal. The shares of the company were few, a portion of which was owned by those who furnished the capital, and the rest by the traders themselves, each of whom took charge of an interior post. The old Canadian voyageurs were employed by this company in preference to all others; and in all probability the father of the late Joseph Renville, Sen'r., whose wife was a native of Kaposia village, was an attache to this company, as his son was subsequently to its rival, the "Hudson Bay." Sandy Lake, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, became quite a centre of Indian trade. In the year 1785, a scene occurred there, which has not been of infrequent occurrence. For the facts, we are indebted to Mr. Schoolcraft's Narrative, which he obtained from a manuscript of a voyageur named Perrault.

"A trader by the name of Kay, was asked by an Ojibwa to give him some rum. Kay refused, and walked him out of the tent. On turning round to enter, the Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck. Kay at the time was intoxicated, and seizing a long table knife, ran after the Indian. The Indians being also drunk, a general melee took place. The mother of the Indian who had stabbed the trader, ran up and stabbed Kay a second time. A friendly Indian now took up the quarrel of the trader, and plunged a knife into the breast of him who instigated the Indian in the first place to attack the trader. The Indian women, in self-defence, now destroyed all the liquor that could be found. Kay's wounds were so bad that he determined to go to Mackinac. "Before he started," says Perrault, "he sent for Mr. Harris and myself, to come to his tent, to receive his orders. He said to us:—'Gentlemen, you see my situation. I do not know whether God will spare my life or not. I have determined to leave you, and at all hazards to set out for Mackinac with seven men, accompanied by the Bras Casse and his wife, to take care of me on the road. Assort the remainder of the goods, and ascend to Leech lake, and await there for the return of the Pillagers, who are out on the prairies. In short, complete the inland trade. Mr. Pinot is too feeble an opponent to do you much injury. I confide in the capacity of you both.' A few moments afterwards Mr. Harris went out, when he said to me particularly, taking hold of my hands—'My dear friend you understand the language of the Chippewas. Mr. Harris would go with me, but he must accompany you. He is a good trader, but he has, like myself and others, a strong passion for drinking, which takes away his judgment. On these occasions, advise him. I will myself speak to him before my departure. Prepare everything to facilitate our passage over the portages and along the lake. I shall set out to-morrow. I find myself better every day.'

"I left him with his physician, and went to distribute the provisions and lading for two inland canoes, one for Mr. Kay, and one for the four men who were to take the furs from Pine river, consisting of nineteen packs of eighty pounds each, and four packs of deer skins, to serve as seats for Mr. Kay's men. The next day Mr. Kay was a little

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better, which diffused pleasure among us all. I constructed a litter (*un trencard*) for two men to carry him over the portages; and he set out the same day, being the fifth of May, about two o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Pinot also departed the same day. Bras Casse and his wife departed about sunset."

The sequel of this tale is briefly told. Mr. Kay reached Mackinac, where Capt. Robinson, then in command, had a second operation performed on him by the post-surgeon. He afterwards closed his business and went to Montreal. A suppuration of his wound, however, took place at the Lake of Two Mountains, which terminated his life on the 26th of August, 1785, three months and twenty-four days after receiving the wound.

In 1796, the Northwest Company built a fort at Sandy Lake. In 1805, the fur trade of Minnesota was entirely monopolized by this English company. At Leech lake, and other points in the Ojibwa country, they had posts.

The principal traders among the Dakotas, at this time, were Cameron, Dickson, Campbell, Aird, and Crawford. The latter lived much of the time on the Des Moines river. Aird, or Aird, was a partner of a firm at Prairie du Chien. He was a Scotchman, from Mackinac, and was met by the returning expedition of Lewis and Clarke, with two canoes, near the junction of the Au Jacques with the Missouri river. In 1812 he had a post at Mendota. Campbell and Dickson traded at Kaposia and sundry places on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers.

Cameron had his post towards the sources of the Minnesota. He also was a shrewd and daring Scotchman. He died in the year 1811, and the spot where he was buried, on the Upper Minnesota, is known to this day as Cameron's Grave. One of his voyageurs, Old Milor, is still living at Mendota; and while in the employ of Cameron, nearly lost his life. We tell the story as Featherstonhaugh relates it:—"The winter was advancing fast upon Milor and his fellow voyageurs, and they had delayed so long collecting their packs of skins, that the ice formed one night too strong to permit their descending the stream in a canoe. There was, however, some hopes of a thaw; and they kept waiting from day to day, until their provision, of which they had but a slight supply, was exhausted. They had nothing left now, but to leave their packs of skins under the canoe, and take to the woods in the hopes that Cameron, who was at a distant trading-post below, seeing the state of the weather, would send relief to them.

"The snow was too deep to enable them to carry any burden; and with their last meal in their pockets, they commenced their journey. They met with no game of any kind, on the way; and on the night of the second day, they were reduced to the necessity of stripping some bark from a tree to masticate. In the morning, the severity of the weather increased, and no alternative presented itself, but stopping to die on the way, or making the most desperate effort to extricate themselves. On the morning of the third day, two of the men became weak, and frequently urged the other to stop; but Milor always opposed these delays. These poor fellows were gradually losing their judgment; they knew that delay would be fatal to the whole party, yet the sense of present distress took away all reflection from them. Milor, who was ahead of them all, came before night to a place somewhat sheltered from the wind, which was very piercing; and seeing some signs of the bushes having been disturbed, he stepped aside to look, and found a dead Indian beside the remains of a small fire. Milor now shouted to the men to come on; and pointing to the Indian, told them that would be their fate

before morning, if they stopped. Frightened at this, they kept up a good pace until a late hour; and Milor being in a part of the country he was acquainted with, took one of the most active of the men with him, and after great exertions, they had the good luck to catch two muskrats. With these they returned to the man, who had built up a good fire; and having eaten one of the animals, they lay down to sleep, and rested very well. In the morning they ate the other before starting; and as they felt a little more cheerful, Milor told them that if they would walk like men, he would take them to a place where there was plenty of muskrats, and that as soon as they had laid in a supply of them, they would strike across the country to Traverse des Sioux, where they would be sure to hear of Cameron and get food. In several days they caught but one muskrat.

"On the morning of the eighth day, they had not been marching an hour, when Milor, looking attentively to the Southeast, declared that he saw smoke in that direction, and that there must be a fire. This, as Milor said, had the effect of a glass of *eau de vie* upon them, and they went briskly on for two or three hours; but this cheering sign disappeared, and the men were beginning to despond again, when the thought struck Milor, that if any party were coming to their relief, they would naturally be keeping a lookout also. In less than a half hour after, he had gained the bluff to scan a thick column of smoke, not more than three miles distant. He immediately waved his cap, shouted to his companions, and set off in the direction of the expected aid. It was indeed the relief they expected. Two men, each with a pack containing pork and biscuit, had been despatched from Traverse des Sioux, and Cameron with three others, were to leave in a canoe, if an expected thaw admitted of it, and at any rate, were to start with an additional supply. Milor, having reposed himself, set out to meet his comrades with the reinforcement. 'What did they do when they saw you?' I asked Milor. 'Ces gaillards là ont commences a danser, Monsieur—the happy fellows began to dance,' was his answer.

"This incident, in the adventures of Milor, is very much to the credit of Cameron, who made so resolute an attempt to relieve his poor *engages*, when the chances were so much against his succeeding. Featherstonhaugh, vol. I, pp. 315—318.

CHAPTER XI.

UNITED STATES PIONEER EXPLORATION OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

WITH the history of Minnesota there is intimately associated the name of General Pike, who fell in battle at York, Upper Canada. While a lieutenant, he was ordered by his commanding officer, the once notorious General Wilkinson, to visit the Indian tribes of the Upper Mississippi, and expel the British traders. The party under his command was small, and his conveniences few, yet his work was well and heroically performed. In the preface to his book, he says:—

"In the execution of this voyage I had no gentleman to aid me, and I literally performed the duties of astronomer, surveyor, commanding officer, clerk, spy, guide and

hunter, frequently preceding the party for miles, in order to reconnoitre, and returning in the evening, hungry and fatigued, to sit down in the open air, by firelight, to copy the notes, and plot the courses of the day."

It has been the aim of the Editor to make judicious

EXTRACTS FROM HIS JOURNAL.

SEPT. 1st, *Sunday*.—Embarked early; wind fair; arrived at the lead mines at 12 o'clock. A dysentery, with which I had been afflicted several days, was suddenly checked this morning; which I believe to have been the occasion of a very violent attack of fever about 11 o'clock. Notwithstanding it was very severe, I dressed myself, with an intention to execute the orders of the General relative to this place. We were saluted with a field-piece, and received with every mark of attention, by Monsieur Dubuque, the proprietor. There were no horses at the house, and it was six miles to where the mines were worked; it was therefore impossible to make a report by actual inspection. I therefore proposed ten queries, on the answers to which my report was founded. Dined with Mr. D., who informed me that the Sioux and Sauteurs were as warmly engaged in opposition as ever; that not long since the former killed fifteen Sauteurs, who, on the 10th of August, in return, killed ten Sioux, at the entrance of the St. Peters; and that a war party, composed of the Sacs, Reynards, and Puants, of 200 warriors had embarked on an expedition against the Sauteurs, but that they had heard that the chief having had an unfavorable dream, persuaded the party to return, and that I would meet them on my voyage. At this place I was introduced to a chief, called the Raven of the Reynards. He made a very flowery speech on the occasion, which I answered in a few words, accompanied by a small present.

I had now given up all hopes of my two men, and was about to embark, when a pirogue arrived, in which they were, with a Mr. Blondeau, and two Indians, whom that gentleman had engaged above the rapids of Stony river. The two soldiers had been six days without anything to eat except muscles, when they met Mr. James Aird, by whose humanity and attention their strength and spirits were in a measure restored, and they were enabled to reach the Reynard village, where they met with Mr. B. The Indian chief furnished them with corn and shoes, and shewed his friendship by every possible attention. I immediately discharged the hire of the Indians, and gave Mr. Blondeau a passage to the Prairie des Chiens. Left the lead mines at 4 o'clock.—Distance 25 miles.

SEPT. 3d, *Tuesday*.—Embarked at a pretty early hour. Cloudy. Met two pirogues of family Indians; they at first asked Mr. Blondeau, "if we were for war, or if going to war?" I now experienced the good effect of having some person on board who could speak their language, for they presented me with three pair of ducks, and a quantity of venison, sufficient for all our crew one day; in return, I made them some trifling presents. Afterwards met two pirogues, carrying some of the warriors spoken of on the 2d inst. They kept at a great distance until spoken to by Mr. B., when they informed him that their party had proceeded up as high as Lake Pepin, without effecting anything. It is surprising what a dread the Indians in this quarter have of the Americans; I have often seen them go around islands, to avoid meeting my boat. It appears to me evident, that the traders have taken great pains to impress upon the minds of the savages the idea of our being a very vindictive, ferocious and warlike people. This impression was perhaps made with no good intention; but when they find

that our conduct towards them is guided by magnanimity and justice, instead of operating in an injurious manner, it will have the effect to make them reverence, at the same time they fear us. Distance 25 miles.

SEPT. 4th, *Wednesday*.—Breakfasted just below the Onisconsing. Arrived at the Prairie Des Chiens about 11 o'clock; took quarters at Captain Fisher's, and were politely received by him and Mr. Frazer.

SEPT. 6th, *Friday*.—Had a small council with the Puants, and a chief of the lower band of the Sioux. Visited and laid out a position for a post, on a hill called the *Petit Gris*, on the Onisconsing, three miles above its mouth. Mr. Fisher, who accompanied me, was taken very sick, in consequence of drinking some water out of the Onisconsing. The Puants never have any white interpreters, nor have the Fols Avoine Nation. In my council, I spoke to a Frenchman, he to a Sioux, who interpreted to some of the Puants.

SEPT. 8th, *Sunday*.—Embarked at half past 11 o'clock, in two batteaux. The wind fair and fresh. I found myself very much embarrassed and cramped in my new boats, with provision and baggage. I embarked two interpreters, one to perform the whole voyage, whose name was Pierre Rosseau, and the other, named Joseph Reinville, paid by Mr. Frazer, to accompany me as high as the Falls of St. Anthony. Mr. Frazer is a young gentleman, clerk to Mr. Blakely, of Montreal; he was born in Vermont, but has latterly resided in Canada. To the attention of this gentleman I am much indebted; he procured for me everything in his power that I stood in need of; despatched his bark canoes and remained himself to go on with me. His design was, to winter with some of the Sioux bands. We sailed well, came 18 miles, and encamped on the W. bank. I must not omit here to bear testimony to the politeness of all the principal inhabitants of the village. There is, however, a material distinction to be made in the nature of those attentions. The kindness of Messrs. Fisher, Frazer, and Woods, (all Americans,) seemed to be the spontaneous effusions of good will, and partiality to their countrymen; it extended to the accommodation, convenience, exercises and pastimes of my men: and whenever they proved superior to the French, openly shewed their pleasure. But the French Canadians appeared attentive, rather from their natural good manners than sincere friendship; however, it produced from them the same effect that natural good will did in the others.

SEPT. 10th, *Tuesday*.—Rain still continuing, we remained at our camp. Having shot at some pigeons, the report was heard at the Sioux lodges, when La Fieuille sent down six of his young men to inform me "that he had waited three days with meat, &c., but that last night they had began to drink, and that on the next day he would receive me with his people sober. I returned him for answer, "that the season was advanced, that time was pressing, and that if the rain ceased I must go on." Mr. Frazer and the interpreter went home with the Indians. We embarked about 1 o'clock, Frazer returning, informed me that the chief acquiesced in my reasons for pressing forward, but that he had prepared a pipe (by way of letter) to present me, to shew to all the Sioux above, with a message to inform them that I was a chief of their new fathers, and that he wished me to be treated with friendship and respect. On our arrival opposite to the lodges, the men were paraded on the bank, with their guns in their hands.—They saluted us (with ball) with what might be termed three rounds; which I returned with three rounds from each boat with my blunderbusses. This salute, although nothing to soldiers accustomed to fire, would not be so agreeable to many people, as the Indians

+ had all been drinking, and as some of them even tried their dexterity, to see how near the boat they could strike. They may, indeed, be said to have struck on every side of us. When landed, I had my pistols in my belt, and sword in hand. I was met on the bank by the chief, and invited to his lodge. As soon as my guards were formed, and sentinels posted, I accompanied him. Some of my men, who were going up with me, I caused to leave their arms behind, as a mark of confidence. At the chief's lodge I found a clean mat and pillow for me to sit on, and the beforementioned pipe, on a pair of small crutches before me. The chief sat on my right hand, my interpreter and Mr. Frazer on my left. After smoking, the chief spoke to the following purport:

"That, notwithstanding he had seen me at the prairie, he was happy to take me by the hand amongst his own people, and there to shew his young men the respect due to their *new father*. That, when at St. Louis in the spring, his father had told him that if he looked down the river, he would see one of his young warriors coming up. He now found it true, and he was happy to see me, who knew the Great Spirit was the father of all; both the white and the red people; and if one died, the other could not live long. That he had never been at war with their *new father*, and hoped always to preserve the same good understanding that now existed. That he now presented me with a pipe, to shew to the upper bands, a token of our good understanding; and that they might see his work and imitate his conduct. That he had gone to St. Louis on a shameful visit, to carry a murderer; but that we had given the man his life, and he thanked us for it. That he had provided something to eat, but he supposed I could not eat it, and if not, to give it to my young men."

I replied, "that, although I had told him at the prairie my business up the Mississippi, I would again relate it to him. I then mentioned the different objects I had in view, with regard to the savages who had fallen under our protection by our late purchase from the Spaniards. The different posts to be established. The objects of these posts as related to them; supplying them with necessaries; having officers and agents of government near them, to attend to their business; and above all, to make peace between the Sioux and Santeurs. That it was possible, on my return, I should bring some of the Santeurs down with me, and take with me some of the Sioux chiefs to St. Louis, there to settle the long and bloody war which had existed between the two nations. That I accepted his pipe with pleasure, as the gift of a great man,* and a brother. That it should be used as he desired." I then eat of the dinner he had provided. It was very grateful. It was wild rye and venison, of which I sent four bowls to my men. I afterwards went to a dance, the performance of which was attended with many curious manœuvres. Men and women danced indiscriminately. They were all dressed in the gayest manner; each had in their hand a small skin of some description, and would frequently run up, point their skin, and give a puff with their breath, when the person blown at, whether man or woman, would fall, and appear to be almost lifeless, or in great agony; but would recover slowly, rise, and join in the dance. This they called their great medicine, or as I understood the word, dance of religion. The Indians believing that they actually puffed something into each other's bodies, which occasioned the falling, &c. It is not every person who is admitted; persons wishing to join them, must first make valuable presents to the Society, to the amount of forty or fifty dollars. give a feast, and then are admitted with great ceremony. Mr. Frazer in-

* He is the Chief of four bands.

formed me, that he was once in the lodge with some young men, who did not belong to the club; when one of the dancers came in, they immediately threw their blankets over him, and forced him out of the lodge; he laughed, and the young Indians called him a fool, and said "he did not know what the dancer might blow into his body." I returned to my boat, sent for the chief, and presented him with two carrots of tobacco, four knives, half a pound of vermillion, and one quart of salt. Mr. Frazer asked liberty to present them some rum; we made them up a keg between us, of eight gallons.* Mr. Frazer informed the chief that he dared not give them any without my permission. The chief thanked me for all my presents, and said "they must come free, as he did not ask for them." I replied, "that, to those who did not ask for anything, I gave freely; but to those who asked for much, I gave only a little or none." We embarked about half past 3 o'clock; came three miles, and encamped on the W. side. Mr. Frazer we left behind, but he came up with his two perouques about dusk. It commenced raining very hard. In the night, a peroque arrived from the lodges at his camp. During our stay at their camp, there were soldiers appointed to keep the crowd from my boats; who executed their duty with vigilance and rigor; driving men, women and children back, whenever they came near my boats. At my departure, their soldiers said, "as I had shaken hands with their chief, they must shake hands with my soldiers." In which request I willingly indulged them.

SEPT. 12th, *Thursday*.—It raining very hard in the morning, we did not embark until 10 o'clock. Mr. Frazer's perouques then coming up. It was still raining, and was very cold. Passed the Racine river, also a prairie called Le Cross, from a game of ball played frequently on it by the Sioux Indians. This prairie is very handsome; it has a small square hill, similar to some mentioned by Carver. It is bounded in the rear by hills similar to the Prairie Des Chien. On this prairie Mr. Frazer shewed me some holes, dug by the Sioux, when in expectation of an attack, into which they first put their women and children, and then crawl themselves. They were generally round, and about ten feet in diameter; but some were half moons, and quite a breastwork. This, I understood, was the chief work, which was the principal redoubt. Their modes of constructing them are, the moment they apprehend or discover an enemy on a prairie, they commence digging with their knives, tomahawks, and a wooden ladle; and in an incredibly short space of time, they have a hole sufficiently deep to cover themselves and their family from the balls or arrows of the enemy. They have no idea of taking those subterraneous redoubts by storm, as they would probably lose a great number of men in the attack; and, although they might be successful in the event, it would be considered as a very imprudent action. Mr. Frazer, finding his canoes not able to keep up, staid at this prairie to organize one of them, intending then to overtake us. Came on three miles further.

SEPT. 16th., *Monday*.—Embarked late, as I wished Mr. Frazer to overtake me, but came on very well. His canoes overtook us at dinner, at the grand encampment below Lake Pepin. We made the sandy peninsula on the East, at the entrance of Lake Pepin, by dusk; passed the Sauteaux river, on the East, at the entrance of the lake. After supper, the wind being fair, we put off, with the intention to sail across. My interpreter (Rosseau) telling me, that he had passed the lake twenty times, but never once in the day; giving as a reason, that the wind frequently rose and detained

* Two gallons of Whiskey.

them by day in the lake. But I believe the traders' true reason, generally is, their fears of the Sauteurs, as they have made several strokes of war, at the mouth of this river, never distinguishing between the Sioux and their traders. However, the wind serving, I was induced to go on; and accordingly we sailed. My boat bringing up the rear, for I had put the sail of my big boat on my batteaux, and a mast of twenty-two feet. Mr. Frazer embarked on my boat. At first the breeze was very gentle, and we sailed with our violins and other music playing; but the sky afterwards became cloudy, and quite a gale arose. My boat ploughed the swells, sometimes almost bow under. When we came to the Traverse, which is opposite to Point De Sable, we thought it most advisable, the lake being very much disturbed and the gale increasing, to take harbor in a bay on the East. One of the canoes, and my boat, came in very well, and together; but having made a fire on the point to give notice to our boats in the rear, they both ran on the bar before they doubled it, and were near foundering; but by jumping into the lake we brought them into a safe harbor. Distance forty miles.

SEPT. 17th *Tuesday*.—Although there was every appearance of a very severe storm, we embarked at half past 6 o'clock, the wind fair, but before we had all hoisted sail, those in front had struck theirs. The wind came on hard ahead. The sky became inflamed and the lightning seemed to roll down the sides of the hills, which bordered the shore of the lake. The storm in all its grandeur, majesty, and horror, burst upon us, in the Traverse, while making to Point De Sable; and it required no moderate exertion to weather the point and get to the windward side of it. There we found Mr. Cameron, who had sailed from the prairie on the 5th; he had three bark, and one wooden canoes, with him. He had been laying here two days; his canoes unloaded and turned up for the habitation of his men; his tents pitched, and living in all the ease of an Indian trader. He appeared to be a man of tolerable information, but rather indolent in his habits; a Scotchman by birth, but an Englishman by prejudice. He had with him a very handsome young man, by the name of John Rudsell, and also his own son a lad of fifteen. The storm continuing, we remained all day. I was shown a point of rocks from which a Sioux woman cast herself and was dashed into a thousand pieces, on the rocks below. She had been informed, that her friends intended matching her to a man she dispised; and having refused her the man she had chosen, she ascended the hill, singing her death song; and before they could overtake her, and obviate her purpose, she took the lover's leap! and ended her troubles with her life. A wonderful display of sentiment in a savage. Distance 3 miles.

SEPT. 18th, *Wednesday*.—Embarked after breakfast. Mr. Cameron, with his boats came on with me. Crossed the lake, sounded it, and took an observation at the upper end. I embarked in one of his canoes, and we came up to Canoe river, where there was a small band of Sioux, under the command of Red Wing, the second war chief in the nation. He made me a speech and presented a pipe, pouch, and buffalo skin. He appeared to be a man of sense, and promised to accompany me to St. Peters; he saluted me, and had it returned. I made him a small present. We encamped on the end of the island, and although not more than 11 o'clock, were obliged to stay all night. Distance 18 miles.

SEPT. 19th, *Thursday*.—Embarked early; dined at St. Croix river. Messrs. Frazer and Cameron, having some business to do with the savages, we left them at the encampment; but they promised to overtake me, though they were obliged to travel until 12

o'clock at night. Fired a blunderbuss for them at Tatoo. The chain of my watch became unhooked, by lending her to my guard; this was a very serious misfortune.

SEPT. 21st, *Saturday*—Embarked at a seasonable hour, breakfasted at the Sioux village, on the east side (Pigs Eye.) It consists of eleven lodges and is situated at the head of an island just below a ledge of rocks. The village was evacuated at this time, all the Indians having gone out to the lands to gather fols avoin. About two miles above, saw three bears swimming over the river, but at too great a distance for us to have killed them; they made the shore before I could come up with them. Passed a camp of Sioux, of four lodges, in which I saw only one man, whose name was Black Soldier. The garrulity of the women astonished me, for at the other camps they never opened their lips; but here they flocked round us, with all their tongues going at the same time; the cause of this freedom must have been the absence of their lords and masters. Passed the encampment of Mr. FERREBAULT, who had broken his peroque and had encamped on the West side of the river, about three miles below St. Peters. We made our encampment on the N. E. point of the big island, (Pike Island,) opposite to St. Peters. The Mississippi became so very narrow this day, that I once crossed in my batteaux with forty strokes of my oars. The water of the Mississippi, since we passed Lake Pepin, has been remarkably red; and where it is deep, appears as black as ink. The waters of the St. Croix and St. Peters, appear *blue and clear*, for a considerable distance below their confluence. I observe a white flag on shore to day, and on landing, discovered it to be white silk; it was suspended over a scaffold, on which were laid four dead bodies, two enclosed in boards, and two in bark. They were wrapped up in blankets, which appeared to be quite new. They were the bodies, I was informed, of two Sioux women (who had lived with two Frenchmen) one of their children and some other relative; two of whom died at St. Peters and two at St. Croix, but were brought here, to be deposited upon this scaffold together. This is the manner of the Sioux burial, when persons die a natural death; but when they are killed, they suffer them to lay unburied. This circumstance brought to my recollection, the bones of a man I found on the hills below the St. Croix; the jaw bone I brought on board. He must have been killed on that spot. Distance twenty-four miles.

SEPT. 22d, *Sunday*.—Employed in the morning, measuring the river; about three o'clock Mr. Frazer and his perouques arrived, and in three hours after, the Petit Corbeau, at the head of his band, arrived with one hundred and fifty warriors. They ascended the hill, in the point between the Mississippi and St. Peters, the site of Fort Snelling, and gave us a salate, *a la mode savage*, with balls; after which we settled the affairs for the council the next day. Mr. Frazer and myself took a bark canoe, and went up to the village, in order to see Mr. Cameron. We ascended the St. Peters to the village and found his camp. (No current in the river.) He engaged to be at the council the next day, and promised to let me have his barge. The Sioux had marched on a war excursion; but hearing (by express) of my arrival, they returned by land. We were treated very hospitably, and hallooed after to go into every lodge, to eat. Returned to our camp about 11 o'clock, and found the Sioux and my men peaceably encamped.

SEPT. 22nd, *Monday*.—Prepared for the council, which we commenced about twelve o'clock. I had a bower or shade, made of my sails, on the beach, into which only my gentlemen (the traders) and the chiefs entered.

Le Grand Partisan.

Le Original Leve,

Le Demi Douzen,

Le Beccasse.

Le Bœuf que Marobe.

} War chief, gave him my father's tomahawk, &c., &c.

It was somewhat difficult to get them to sign the grant, as they conceived their word of honor should be taken for the grant without any mark; but I convinced them it was not on their account, but my own, I wished them to sign it.

SPEECH DELIVERED TO THE SIOUX, AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE RIVER ST. PETERS,
SEPTEMBER 22ND, 1805.

BROTHERS—I am happy to meet you here at this council fire, which your fathers has sent me to kindle, and to take you by the hands as our children. We having but lately acquired from the Spanish the extensive territory of Louisiana. Our general has thought proper to send out a number of his warriors to visit all his red children—to tell them his will, and to hear what request they may have to make of their father. I am happy the choice has fell on me to come this road; as I find my brothers, the Sioux, ready to listen to my words.

BROTHERS—It is the wish of our Government to establish military posts on the Upper Mississippi, at such places as might be thought expedient—I have, therefore, examined the country, and have pitched on the mouth of the river St. Croix. This place and the Falls of St. Anthony—I therefore wish you to grant to the United States, nine miles square, at St. Croix, and at this place, from a league below the confluence of the St. Peters and Mississippi, to a league above St. Anthony, extending three leagues on each side of the river; and as we are a people who are accustomed to have all our acts wrote down, in order to have them handed to our children, I have drawn up a form of an agreement, which we will both sign in the presence of the traders now present. After we know the terms, we will fill it up, and have it read and interpreted to you.

BROTHERS—Those posts are intended as a benefit to you. The old chiefs now present must see that their situation improves by a communication with the whites. It is the intention of the United States to establish at those posts, factories, in which the Indians may procure all their things at a cheaper and better rate than they do now, or than your traders can afford to sell them to you, as they are single men, who come far in small boats. But your fathers are many and strong, and will come with a strong arm, in large boats. There will also be chiefs here, who can attend to the wants of their brothers, without their sending or going all the way to St. Louis, and will see the traders that go up your rivers, and know that they are good men.

BROTHERS—Another object your father has at heart, is to endeavor to make peace between you and the Chippeways. You have now been a long time at war, and when will you stop? If neither side will lay down the hatchet, your paths will always be red with blood; but if you will consent to make peace, and suffer your father to bury the hatchet between you, I will endeavor to bring down some of the Chippeway chiefs with me to St. Louis, where the good work can be completed, under the auspices of your mutual father. I am much pleased to see that the young warriors have halted here to hear my words this day; and as I know it is hard for a warrior to be struck and not strike again, I will send (by the first Chippeway I meet) word to their chiefs:—That if they have not yet felt your tomahawk, it is not because you have no legs, nor the hearts of men, but because you have listened to the voice of your father.

BROTHERS—If the chiefs do not listen to the voice of their father, and continue to commit murders on you, and our traders, they will call down the vengeance of the Americans; for they are not like a blind man walking into the fire. They were once at war with us, and joined to all the Northern Indians, were defeated at Roche De Boenf, and were obliged to sue for peace—that peace we granted them. They know we are not children, but, like all wise people, are slow to shed blood.

BROTHERS—Your old men probably know, that about thirty years ago we were subject to, and governed by the king of the English; but he not treating us like children, we would no longer acknowledge him as father—and after ten years war, in which he lost 100,000 men, he acknowledged us a free and independent Nation. They know that not many years since, we received Detroit, Mich'ilmackinac, and all the posts on the lakes, from the English, and now but the other day, Louisiana from the Spanish; so that we put one foot on the sea at the East, and the other on the sea at the West; and, if once children, are now men; yet, I think the traders who come from Canada are bad birds amongst the Chippeways, and instigate them to make war on their red brothers, the Sioux, in order to prevent our traders from going high up the Mississippi. This I shall enquire into, and if so, warn those persons of their ill conduct.

BROTHERS—Mr. Choteau was sent by your father to the Osage Nation, with one of his young chiefs. He sailed some days before me, and had not time to procure the medals which I am told he promised to send up, but they will be procured.

BROTHERS—I wish you to have some of your head chiefs to be ready to go down with me in the spring. From the head of the St. Pierre, also, such other chiefs as you may think proper, to the number of four or five. When I pass here, on my way, I will send you word at what time you will meet me at the Prairie des Chiens.

BROTHERS—I expect that you will give orders to all your young warriors to respect my *flag* and *protection* which I may extend to the Chippeway chiefs who may come down with me in the spring; for was a dog to run to my lodge for safety, his enemy must walk over me to hurt him.

BROTHERS—Here is a flag, which I wish to send to Gens de Feuilles, to shew them they are not forgot by their father. I wish the comrade of their chief to take it on himself to deliver it with my words.

BROTHERS—I am told that hitherto the traders have made a practice of selling rum to you. All of you, in your right senses, must know that it is injurious; and occasions quarrels, murders, &c., amongst yourselves. For this reason, your father has thought proper to prohibit the traders from selling you any rum. Therefore, I hope my *brothers*, the *chiefs*, when they know of a trader to sell an Indian rum, will prevent that Indian from paying his credit. This will break up the pernicious practice, and oblige your father. But I hope you will not encourage your young men to treat our traders ill from this circumstance, or from a hope of the indulgence formerly experienced; but make your complaints to persons in this country, who will be authorized to do you justice.

BROTHERS—I now present you with some of your father's tobacco, and some other trifling things, as a memorandum of my good will, and before my departure I will give you some liquor to clear your throats.

Whereas, At a conference held between the United States of America and the Sioux Nation of Indians, Lieutenant Z. M. Pike, of the army of the United States, and

the chiefs and the warriors of said tribe, have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified and approved of by the proper authority, shall be binding on both parties:

ART. 1. That the Sioux Nation grant unto the United States, for the purpose of establishment of military posts, nine miles square, at the mouth of the St. Croix,* also from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peters, up the Mississippi, to include the Falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river, that the Sioux Nation grants to the United States the full sovereignty and power over said district forever.

ART. 2. That, in consideration of the above grants, the United States shall pay (filled up by the Senate with 2,000 dollars).

ART. 3. The United States promise, on their part, to permit the Sioux to pass and re-pass, hunt, or make other use of the said districts as they have formerly done, without any other exception than those specified in article first.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at the mouth of the River St. Peters, on the 23d day of September, 1805.

Z. M. PIKE, [L. S.]

1st Lieut., and agent at the above conference.

LE PETIT CORBEAU, [L. S.]

his
mark
his
mark

WAY AGO ENAGEE, [L. S.]

SEPT. 24th, *Tuesday*.—In the morning I discovered my flag was missing from off my boat. Being in doubt whether it had been stolen by the Indians, or had fallen overboard and floated away, I sent for my friend, the *Original Leve*, and sufficiently evinced to him, by the vehemence of my action, by the immediate punishment of my guard, (having inflicted on one of them corporeal punishment) and by sending down the shore three miles in search of it; how much I was displeased, that such a thing should have occurred. I sent a flag and two carrots of tobacco, by a Mr. Cameron, to the Sioux, at the head of the St. Peters; made a small draft of the position at this place; sent up the boat I got from Mr. Fisher, to the village of St. Peters, and exchanged her for a barge with a Mr. Duncan; my men returned with the barge about sun down. She was a fine light thing, eight men were able to carry her. Employed all day in writing.

SEPT. 25th, *Wednesday*.—I was awakened out of my bed by *Le Petit Corbeau*, (head chief) who came up from his village, to see if we were all killed, or if any accident had happened to us; this was in consequence of their having found my flag floating two or three miles below their village, (fifteen miles hence) from which they concluded that some affray had taken place, and that it had been thrown overboard. Although I considered this an unfortunate accident for me, I was exceedingly happy at its effect; for it was the occasion of preventing much bloodshed among the savages. A chief called the *Outard Blanche*, had his lip cut off, and had come to the *Petit Corbeau*, and told him, "that his face was his looking glass, that it was spoiled, and that he was determined on revenge." The parties were charging their

* My demand was one league below; their reply was "from below." I imagine (without iniquity) they may be made to agree.

guns, and preparing for action, when lo ! the flag appeared; like a messenger of peace, sent to prevent their bloody purposes. They were all astonished to see it; the staff was broke. When the *Petit Corbeau* arose and spoke to this effect: "That a thing so sacred, had not been taken from my boat, without violence; that it would be proper for them, to hush all private animosities, until they had revenged the cause of their eldest brother; that he would immediately go up to St. Peters, to know what dogs had done that thing; in order to take steps to get satisfaction of those, who had done the mischief." They all listened to this reasoning and he immediately had the flag put out to dry, and embarked for my camp. I was much concerned to hear of the blood likely to have been shed, and gave him five yards of blue stroud, three yards of calico, one handkerchief, one carrot of tobacco, and one knife, in order to make peace among his people. He promised to send my flag by land to the Falls, and make the peace with *Outard Blanche*. Mr. Frazer went up to the village, and we embarked late, and encamped at the foot of the rapids. In many places, I could scarce throw a stone over the river. Distance three miles.

SEPT. 26th, *Thursday*.—Embarked at the usual hour, and after much labor in passing through the rapids, arrived at the foot of the Falls about three or four o'clock; unloaded my boat, and had the principal part of her cargo carried over the portage.—With the other boat however full loaded, they were not able to get over the last shoot, and encamped about six hundred yards below. I pitched my tent and encamped above the shoot. The rapids mentioned in this day's march, might properly be called a continuation of the falls of St. Anthony, for they are equally entitled to this appellation, with the falls of the Delaware and Susquehanna. Killed one deer. Distance nine miles.

SEPT. 27th, *Friday*.—Brought over the residue of my loading this morning. Two men arrived, from Mr. Frazer, on St. Peters, for my dispatches. This business, closing and sealing, appeared like a last adieu to the civilized world. Sent a large packet to the general, and a letter to Mrs. Pike, with a short note to Mr. Frazer. Two young Indians brought my flag across by land, who arrived yesterday, just as we came in sight of the Fall. I made them a present for their punctuality and expedition, and the danger they were exposed to from the journey. Carried our boats out of the river, as far as the bottom of the hill.

SEPT. 28th, *Saturday*.—Brought my barge over, and put her in the river above the the Falls—while we were engaged with her three-fourths miles from camp, seven Indians painted black appeared on the heights. We had left our guns at the camp and were entirely defenceless. It occurred to me that they were the small party of Sioux who were obstinate, and would go to war, when the other part of the bands came in; these they proved to be; they were better armed than any I had ever seen; having guns, bows, arrows, clubs, spears, and some of them even a case of pistols. I was at that time giving my men a dram; and giving the cup of liquor to the first, he drank it off; but I was more cautious with the remainder. I sent my interpreter to camp with them, to wait my coming; wishing to purchase one of their war clubs, it being made of elk horn, and decorated with inlaid work. This and a set of bows and arrows, I wished to get as a curiosity. But the liquor I had given him, beginning to operate, he came back for me, but refusing to go till I brought my boat, he returned, and (I suppose being offended) borrowed a canoe and crossed the river. In the afternoon got the other boat

near the top of the hill, when the props gave way, and she slid all the way down to the bottom, but fortunately without injuring any person. It raining very hard, we left her. Killed one goose and a racoon.

SEPT. 29th, *Sunday*—I killed a remarkably large racoon. Got our large boat over the portage, and put her in the river, at the upper landing; this night the men gave sufficient proof of their fatigue, by all throwing themselves down to sleep, preferring rest to supper. This day I had but fifteen men out of twenty-two; the others were sick. This voyage could have been performed with great convenience, if we had taken our departure in June. But the proper time would be to leave the Illinois as soon as the ice would permit, when the river would be of a good height.

SEPT. 30th, *Monday*—Loaded my boat, moved over and encamped on the Island. The large boats loading likewise, we went over and put on board. In the mean time, I took a survey of the Falls, Portage, &c. If it be possible to pass the Falls in high water, of which I am doubtful, it must be on the East side, about thirty yards from shore; as there are three layer of rocks, one below the other. The pitch off of either, is not more than five feet; but of this I can say more on my return.*

OCT. 4th, *Friday*—Rained in the morning, but the wind serving, we embarked, although extremely raw and cold. Opposite to the mouth of Crow river we found a bark canoe, cut to pieces with tomahawks, and the paddles broken on shore; a short distance higher up we saw five more; and continued to see the wrecks until we found eight. From the form of the canoes, my interpreter pronounced them to be Sioux; and some broken arrows to be the Sauteurs. The paddles were also marked with the Indian sign of men and women killed. From all these circumstances, we drew this inference, that the canoes had been the vessels of a party of Sioux, who had been attacked and all killed or taken by the Sauteurs. Time may develop this transaction. My interpreter was much alarmed, assuring me that it was probable that at our first rencounter with the Chipeways, they would take us for Sioux traders, and fire on us before we could come to an explanation; that they had murdered three Frenchmen, whom they found on the shore about this time last spring; but notwithstanding his information, I was on shore all the afternoon in pursuit of elk. Caught a curious little animal on the prairie, which my Frenchman termed a *prairie mole*, but it is very different from the mole of the States. Killed two geese, one pheasant, and a wolf. Distance sixteen miles.

OCT. 5th, *Saturday*—Hard water and ripples all day. Passed several old Sioux encampments, all fortified. Found five litters, in which sick or wounded men had been carried. At this place a hard battle was fought between the Sioux and Sauteurs in the year 1800. Killed one goose. Distance eleven miles.

OCT. 10th, *Thursday*—Came to large islands and strong water early in the morning. Passed the place at which Mr. Reinville and Mons. Perlier, wintered in 1797; passed a cluster of islands, more than twenty in the course of four miles; these I called Beaver islands, from the immense sign of those animals, for they have dams on every island and roads from them every two or three rod. I would here attempt a description of this wonderful animal, and its admirable system of architecture, was not the subject already exhausted, by the numerous travelers who have written on this subject. Encamped at the foot of the Grand Sauk Rapids. Killed two geese, five ducks, and four pheasants. Distance sixteen and a half miles.

*It is never possible, as I ascertained on my return.]

OCT. 11th, *Friday*—Both boats passed the worst of the rapids, by eleven o'clock, but we were obliged to wade and lift them over rocks, where there was not a foot of water, when at times the next step would be in the water over our heads. In consequence of this, our boats were frequently in imminent danger of being bilged on the rocks. About five miles above the rapids, our large boat was discovered to leak so fast, as to render it necessary to unload her, which we did. Stopped the leak, and reloaded. Near a war encampment, I found a piece of buckskin and a piece of scarlet cloth, suspended by the limb of a tree; this I supposed to be a sacrifice to *Matcho Mamton*, to render their enterprise successful; but I took the liberty of invading the rights of his diabolical majesty, by treating them, as the priests of old have often done, that is, converting the sacrifice to my own use. Killed only two ducks. Distance eight miles.

OCT. 16th, *Wednesday*—When we arose in the morning, found that snow had fallen during the night; the ground was covered and it continued to snow. This indeed was but poor encouragement for attacking the rapids, in which we were certain to wade to our necks. I was determined, however, if possible to make *la riviere de Corbeau*, the highest point ever made by traders in their bark canoes. We embarked and after four hours work became so benumbed with cold that our limbs were perfectly useless. We put to shore on the opposite side of the river, about two-thirds of the way up the rapids. Built a large fire; and then discovered that our boats were nearly half full of water; both having sprung large leaks so as to oblige me to keep three hands bailing. My sergeant (Kennerman) one of the stoutest men I ever knew, broke a blood-vessel and vomited nearly two quarts of blood. One of my corporals (Bradley) also evacuated nearly a pint of blood, when he attempted to void his urine. These unhappy circumstances, in addition to the inability of four other men whom we were obliged to leave on shore; convinced me, that if I had no regard for my own health and constitution, I should have some for those poor fellows, who were killing themselves to obey my orders. After we had breakfasted and refreshed ourselves, we went down to our boats on the rocks, where I was obliged to leave them. I then informed my men that we would return to the camp and there leave some of the party and our large boats. This information was pleasing, and the attempt to reach the camp soon accomplished. My reasons for this step have partly been already stated. The necessity of unloading and refitting my boats, the beauty and convenience of the spot for building huts, the fine pine trees for perogues, and the quantity of game, were additional inducements. We immediately unloaded our boats and secured their cargoes. In the evening I went out upon a small, but beautiful creek, which empties into the Falls, for the purpose of selecting pine trees to make canoes. Saw five deer, and killed one buck weighing one hundred and thirty-seven pounds. By my leaving men at this place, and from the great quantities of game in its vicinity, I was ensured plenty of provision for my return voyage. In the party left behind was one hunter, to be continually employed, who would keep our stock of salt provisions good. Distance two hundred and thirty-three and a half miles above the Falls of St. Anthony.

OCT. 30th, *Wednesday*—My men labored as usual. Nothing extraordinary.

OCT. 31st, *Thursday*—Enclosed my little work completely with pickets. Hauled up my two boats and turned them over on each side of the gate-ways; by which means a defence was made to the river, and had it not been for various political reasons, I would have laughed at the attack of eight hundred or a thousand savages, if all my party were

within. For except accidents, it would only have afforded amusement, the Indians having no idea of taking a place by storm. Found myself powerfully attacked with the fantasies of the brain, called ennui, at the mention of which I had hitherto scoffed ; but my books being packed up, I was like a person entranced, and could easily conceive why so many persons who have been confined to remote places, acquired the habit of drinking to excess, and many other vicious practices, which have been adopted merely to pass time.

Nov. 24th, *Sunday*.—Took Miller and Boley and went in pursuit of buffalo. Came up with some about ten o'clock. In the afternoon wounded one. Pursued them until night, and encamped on the side of a swamp. Thawing.

Nov. 25th, *Monday*.—Commenced again the pursuit of the buffalo, and continued till eleven o'clock, when I gave up the chase. Arrived at the camp about sun down, hungry and weary, having eat nothing since we left it. My rifle was too small a ball to kill buffalo ; the balls should not be more than thirty to the pound ; an ounce ball would be still preferable, and the animal should be hunted on horse-back. I think that, in the prairies of this country, the bow and arrow could be used to more advantage than the gun ; for you might ride immediately along side, and strike them where you pleased, leaving them to proceed after others. Thawing.

Nov. 25th *Tuesday*.—Proceeded up the river. The ice getting very rotten, the men fell through several times. Thawing. Distance five miles.

Nov. 27th, *Wednesday*.—Took one man and marched to the post. Found all well. My hunter, Bradley, had killed eleven deer since my departure. Sent all the men down to help the party up. They returned, accompanied by two Indians, who informed me they were two men of a band, who resided on Lake Superior, called the Fols Avoins, but spoke the language of the Chippeways. They informed me that Mr. Dickson's and the other trading houses, were established about sixty miles below ; that there were seventy lodges of the Sioux on the Mississippi. All my men arrived at the post. We brought from our camp below the ballance of seventeen deer and two elks.

Nov. 28th, *Thursday*.—The Indians departed much pleased with their reception. I dispatched corporal Meek and one private down to Dickson with a letter, which would at least have the effect of attaching the most powerful tribes in this quarter to my interest.

Nov. 29th, *Friday*.—A Sioux (the son of a warrior called the Killeur Rouge, of the *Gens des Feuilles*) and a Fols Avoin came to the post. He said that having struck our trail below, and finding some to be shoe tracks, he conceived it to be the establishment of some traders, took it, and came to the post. He informed me that Mr. Dickson had told the Sioux "that they might now hunt where they pleased, as I had gone ahead and would cause the Chippewas wherever I met them, to treat them with friendship ; that I had barred up the mouth of the St. Peters, so that no liquor could ascend that river ; but that, if they came on the Mississippi, they should have what liquor they wanted :—also, that I was on the river and had a great deal of merchandize to give them in presents." This information of Mr. Dickson to the Indians seemed to have self-interest and envy for its motives ; for, by the idea of having prevented liquor from going up the St. Peters, he gave the Indians to understand that it was a regulation of my own, and not a law of the United States ; and by assuring them he would sell to them on the Mississippi, he drew all the Indians from the traders on the St. Peters, who had adhered to the restric-

tion of not selling liquor, and should any of them be killed, the blame would all lie on me, as he had (without authority) assured them they might hunt in security. I took care to give the young chief a full explanation of my ideas on the above. He remained all night. Killed two deer.

DEC. 2d, *Monday*—Sparks arrived from the party below and informed me that they could not kill any game, but had started up with the little peroque : also, that Mr. Dickson and a Frenchman had passed my detachment about three hours before. He left them on their march to the post. Sparks arrived about ten o'clock at night.

DEC. 3d, *Tuesday*—Mr. Dickson, with one engagee and a young Indian, arrived at the fort. I received him with every politeness in my power, and after a serious conversation with him on the subject of the information given me on the 29th ult. was induced to believe it, in part, incorrect. He assured me that no liquor was sold by him, nor by any houses under his direction. He gave me much useful information relative to my future route, which gave me great encouragement as to the certainty of my accomplishing the object of my voyage, to the fullest extent. He seemed to be a gentleman of general commercial knowledge, and possessing much geographical information of the Western country, of open, frank, manners. He gave me many assurances of his good wishes for the prosperity of my undertaking.

DEC. 4th, *Wednesday*—My men arrived with one canoe only. Calculated on returning them two days after.

DEC. 5th, *Thursday*—Mr. Dickson, with his two men departed for their station, after having furnished me with a letter for a young man of his house, in Lake de Sable, and a *carte blanche* as to my commands on him. Weather mild.

DEC. 6th, *Friday*—I dispatched my men down, to bring up the other peroque with a strong sled on which it was intended to put the canoe about one third, and to let the end drag on the ice. Three families of the Fols Avoins arrived and encamped near the fort : also, one Sioux, who pretended to have been sent to me, from the *Gens des Feuilles*, to inform me that the Yancongs and Sussitongs (two bands of Sioux from the head of the St. Peters and the Missouri, and the most savage of them) had commenced the war-dance and would depart in a few days, in which case he conceived it would be advisable for the Fols Avoins to keep close under my protection ; that making a stroke on the Chippeways would tend to injure the grand object of my voyage, &c., &c. Some reasons induced me to believe he was a self-created envoy ; however, I offered to pay him, or any other young Sioux, who would go to those bands and carry my word. He promised to make known my wishes upon his return. My men returned in the evening without my canoe, having been so unfortunate as to split her in carrying her over the rough hilly ice in the ripples below. So many disappointments almost wearied out my patience ; but, notwithstanding, I intended to embark by land and water in a few days.

DEC. 9th, *Monday*—Prepared to embark. Expecting the Sioux, I had two large kettles of soup made for them. Had a shooting-match with four prizes. The Sioux did not arrive, and we eat the soup ourselves. Crossed the river and encamped above the rapids. Wind changed and it grew cold.

DEC. 10th, *Tuesday*—After arranging our sleds* and peroque commenced our march. The sleds on the prairie and the peroque towed by three men. Found it extremely dif-

* My sleds were such as are frequently seen about farmers' yards, calculated to hold two barrels, or four hundred weight, in which two men were geared abreast.

difficult to get along, the snow being melted off the prairie in spots. The men who had the canoe were obliged to wade and drag her over the rocks in many places. Shot the only deer I saw. It fell three times, and after made its escape. This was a great disappointment, for upon the game we took now we depended for our subsistence. This evening disclosed to my men the real danger they had to encounter. Distance five miles.

DEC. 14th, *Saturday*—We departed from our encampment at the usual hour, but had not advanced one mile when the foremost sled, which happened unfortunately to carry my baggage and ammunition, fell into the river. We were all in the river up to our middles, in recovering the things. Halted and made a fire. Came on to where the river was frozen over. Stopped and encamped on the West shore, in a pine wood. Upon examining my things, found all my baggage wet, and some of my books materially injured; but a still greater injury was that all of my cartridges, and four pounds of double battle Sussex powder for my own use, was destroyed. Fortunately my kegs of powder were preserved dry, and some bottles of common glazed powder, which were so tightly corked, as not to admit water. Had this not been the case, my voyage must necessarily have been terminated, for we could not have subsisted without ammunition. During the time of our misfortune, two Fols Avoine Indians came to us, one of whom was at my stockade, on the 29th ult., in company with the Sioux. I signified to them by signs the place of our intended encampment, and invited them to come and encamp with us. They left me, and both arrived at my camp in the evening, having each a deer which they presented me; I gave them my canoe, to keep until spring; and in the morning at parting made them a small present. Sat up until three o'clock P. M. drying and assorting my ammunition, baggage, &c. Killed two deer. Distance four miles.

DEC. 21st, *Saturday*—Bradley and myself went on ahead, and overtook my interpreter, who had left camp very early in hopes that he would be able to see the river De Corbeau, where he had twice wintered. He was immediately opposite to a large island, which he supposed to have great resemblance to an island opposite the mouth of the above river; but finally he concluded, it was not the island, and returned to camp. But this was actually the river, as we discovered when we got to the head of the island from which we could see the river's entrance. This fact exposes the ignorance and inattention of the French and traders, and with the exception of a few intelligent men, what little confidence is to be placed on their information. We ascended the Mississippi, about five miles above the confluence; found it frozen; but in many places, not more than one hundred yards over; mild and still. Indeed all the appearance of a small river of a low country. Returned and found my party, having broke sleds, &c., had only made good three miles, while I had marched thirty-five.

DEC. 31st, *Tuesday*—Passed Pine river about eleven o'clock. At its mouth there was a Chippeway's encampment of fifteen lodges, this had been occupied in the summer, but is now vacant. By the significations of their marks, we understood that they had marched a party of fifty warriors against the Sioux; and had killed four men and four women, which were represented by images carved out of pine or cedar. The four men painted and put in the ground to the middle, leaving above ground those parts which are generally concealed; by their sides were four painted poles, sharpened at the end to represent the women. Near this were poles with deer skins, plumes, silk handkerchiefs, &c. Also a circular hoop of cedar with something attached, representing a scalp. Near each lodge they had holes dug in the ground, and boughs ready to cover them, as a retreat for their women and children if attacked by the Sioux, &c.

JAN. 1st, 1806, *Wednesday*—Passed six very elegant bark canoes, on the bank of the river, which had been laid up by the Chippeways; also a camp which we conceived to have been evacuated about ten days. My interpreter came after me in a great hurry, conjuring me not to go so far ahead, and assured me that the Chippeways, encountering me without an interpreter, party, or flag, would certainly kill me. But notwithstanding this, I went on several miles farther than usual, in order to make any discoveries that were to be made; conceiving the savages not so barbarous or ferocious, as to fire on two men, (I had one with me) who were apparently coming into their country, trusting to their generosity; and knowing that if we met only two or three we were equal to them, I having my gun and pistols, and he his buck shot. Made some extra presents for new years day.

JAN. 2d, *Thursday*—Fine warm day. Discovered fresh sign of Indians. Just as we were encamping at night, my sentinel informed us that some Indians were coming full speed upon our trail or track. I ordered my men to stand by their guns *carefully*. They were immediately at my camp, and saluted the flag by a discharge of three pieces; when four Chippeways, one Englishman and a Frenchman of the N. W. Company presented themselves. They informed us that some women having discovered our trail gave the alarm, and not knowing but it was their enemies, they had departed to make a discovery. They had heard of us, and revered our flag. Mr. Grant, the Englishman, had only arrived the day before from Lake De Sable; from which he marched in one day and a half. I presented the Indians with half a deer, which they received thankfully, for they had discovered our fires some days ago, and believing it to be the Sioux, they dared not leave their camp. They returned, but Mr. Grant remained all night.

JAN. 3d, *Friday*—My party marched early, but I returned with Mr. Grant to his establishment on the Red Cedar Lake, having one corporal with me. When we came in sight of his house, I observed the flag of Great Britain flying. I felt indignant and cannot say what my feelings would have excited me to, had he not informed me, that it belonged to the Indians. This was not much more agreeable to me. After explaining to a Chippeway warrior (called *Curly Head*) the object of my voyage, and receiving his answer, that he would remain tranquil until my return. We eat a good breakfast for the country, departed and overtook my sleds just at dusk. Killed one porcupine. Distance sixteen miles.

JAN. 4th, *Saturday*—We made twenty-eight points in the river; broad, good bottom, and of the usual timber. In the night I was awakened by the cry of the sentinel, calling repeatedly to the men; at length he vociferated, "G—d d—n your souls, will you let the lieutenant be burned to death?" This immediately aroused me, at first I seized my arms, but looking round, I saw my tents in flames. The men flew to my assistance and we tore them down but not until they were entirely ruined. This, with the loss of my leggins, mockinsous, socks, &c., which I had hung up to dry, was no trivial misfortune, in such a country, and on such a voyage. But I had reason to thank God that the powder, three small casks of which I had in my tent, did not take fire, if it had, I must certainly have lost all my baggage, if not my life.

JAN. 8th, *Wednesday*.—Conceiving I was at no great distance from Sandy Lake, I left my sleds and with corporal Bradley, took my departure for that place, intending to send him back the same evening. We walked on very briskly until near night, when we met a young Indian, one of those who had visited my camp near Red Cedar Lake.

I endeavored to explain to him, that it was my wish to go to Lake De Sable that evening. He returned with me, until we came to a trail that led across the woods, this he signified was a near course. I went this course with him, and shortly after found myself at a Chipeway encampment, to which I believe the friendly savage had enticed me with an expectation that I would tarry all night, knowing that it was too late for us to make the lake in good season. But upon our refusing to stay, he put us in the right road. We arrived at the place where the track left the Mississippi, at dusk, when we traversed about two leagues of a wilderness, without any very great difficulty, and at length struck the shore of Lake De Sable, over a branch of which our course lay. The snow having covered the trail made by the Frenchmen who had passed before with the rackets, I was fearful of losing ourselves on the lake; the consequence of which can only be conceived by those who have been exposed on a lake, or naked plain, a dreary night of January, in latitude 47° and the thermometer below 0. Thinking that we could observe, the bank of the other shore, we kept a straight course, and sometime after discovered lights, and on our arrival were not a little surprised to find a large stockade. The gate being open, we entered and proceeded to the quarters of Mr. Grant, where we were treated with the utmost hospitality.

JANUARY 9th, *Thursday*.—Marched the corporal early, in order that our men should receive assurance of our safety and success. He carried with him a small keg of spirits, a present from Mr. Grant. The establishment of this place was formed twelve years since, by the N. W. Company, and was formerly under the charge of a Mr. Charles Brusky. It has attained at present such regularity, as to permit the superintendant to live tolerably comfortable. They have horses they procured from Red River, of the Indians; raise plenty of Irish potatoes, catch pike, suckers, pickerel, and white fish in abundance. They have also beaver, deer, and moose; but the provision they chiefly depend upon, is wild oats, of which they purchase great quantities from the savages, giving at the rate of about one dollar and a half per bushel. But flour, pork, and salt, are almost interdicted to persons not principals in the trade. Flour sells at half a dollar; salt a dollar; pork eighty cents; sugar half a dollar; coffee —, and tea four dollars fifty cents per pound. The sugar is obtained from the Indians, and is made from the maple tree.

JANUARY 14th, *Tuesday*.—Crossed the lake to the North side, that I might take an observation; found the lat. $46^{\circ} 9' 20''$ N. Surveyed that part of the lake. Mr. Grant returned from the Indian lodges. They brought a quantity of furs and eleven beaver carcasses.

JANUARY 15th, *Wednesday*.—Mr. Grant and myself made the tour of the lake, with two men, whom I had, for attendants. Found it to be much larger, than could be imagined at a view. My men sawed stocks for the sleds, which I found it necessary to construct after the manner of the country. On our march, met an Indian coming into the fort; his countenance expressed no little astonishment, when told who I was and from whence I came; for the people in this country themselves acknowledge, that the savages hold in greater veneration, the Americans, than any other white people. They say of us, when alluding to warlike achievements, that "we are neither Frenchmen nor Englishmen, but white Indians."

JANUARY 18th, *Saturday*.—Busy in preparing my baggage, &c., for my departure for Leech Lake, reading, &c.

JANUARY 19th, *Sunday*.—Employed as yesterday. Two men of the N. W. Company arrived from the Fond du Lac Superior with letters; one of which was from their establishment, in Athapuscow, and had been since last May, on the route. While at this post I eat roasted beavers, dressed in every respect, as a pig is usually dressed with us; it was excellent. I could not discern the least taste of Des Bois. I also eat boiled moose's head, which when well boiled, I consider equal to the tail of the beaver; in taste and substance they are much alike.

JANUARY, 20th, *Monday*.—The men, with the sleds, took their departure about two o'clock. Shortly after I followed them. We encamped at the portage between the Mississippi and Leech Lake River. Snow fell in the night.

JANUARY 25th, *Saturday*.—Travelled almost all day through the lands, and found them much better than usual. Boley lost the Sioux pipe stem, which I carried along, for the purpose of making peace with the Chipeways; I sent him back for it, he did not return until 11 o'clock at night. It was very warm; thawing all day. Distance forty-four points.

JANUARY 26th, *Sunday*.—I left my party, in order to proceed to a house (or lodge) of Mr. Grants, on the Mississippi, where he was to tarry until I overtook him. Took with me my Indian, Boley, and some trifling provisions; the Indian and myself marched so fast, that we left Boley on the route, about eight miles from the lodge. Met Mr. Grant's men, on their return to Lake De Sable, having evacuated the house this morning, and Mr. Grant having marched for Leech Lake. The Indian and I arrived before sundown. Passed the night very uncomfortably, having nothing to eat, not much wood, nor any blankets. The Indian slept sound. I cursed his insensibility, being obliged to content myself over a few coals all night. Boley did not arrive. In the night the Indian mentioned something about his son, &c.

FEBRUARY 1st, *Saturday*.—Left our camp pretty early. Passed a continued train of prairie, and arrived at Lake La Sang Sue, at half past two o'clock. I will not attempt to describe my feelings, on the accomplishment of my voyage, for this is the main source of the Mississippi. The Lake Winipie branch is navigable, from thence to Red Cedar lake, for the distance of five leagues, which is the extremity of the navigation. Crossed the lake twelve miles to the establishment of the N. W. Company; where we arrived, about three o'clock; found all the gates locked, but upon knocking were admitted, and received with marked attention and hospitality by Mr. Hugh M'Gillis. Had a good dish of coffee, biscuit, butter, and cheese for supper.

FEBRUARY 2d, *Sunday*.—Remained all day within doors. In the evening sent an invitation to Mr. Anderson, who was an agent of Dickson, and also for some young Indians, at his house, to come over and breakfast in the morning.

FEBRUARY 7th, *Friday*.—Remained within doors, my limbs being still very much swelled. Addressed a letter to Mr. M'Gillis on the subject of the N. W. Company trade in this quarter.

N. W. ESTABLISHMENT, ON LAKE LEECH, FEB. 1806.

SIR:—As a proprietor of the N. W. company, and director of the Fond du Lac department, I conceive it my duty as an officer of the United States, (in whose territory you are) to address you solely on the subject of the many houses under your instructions. As a member of the greatest commercial nation in the world, and a company

long renowned for their extent of connections and greatness of views, you cannot be ignorant of the rigor of the laws of the duties of imports of a foreign power.

Mr. Jay's treaty, it is true, gave the right of trade with the savages to British subjects in the United States Territories, but by no means exempted them from paying the duties, obtaining licences, and subscribing unto all the rules and restrictions of our laws. I find your establishments at every suitable place along the whole extent of the South side of Lake Superior to its head, from thence to the source of the Mississippi, and down Red River, and even extending to the centre of our newly acquired territory of Louisiana, in which it will probably yet become a question between the two governments, if our treaties will authorise the British subjects to enter into the Indian trade on the same footing, as in the other parts of our frontiers; this not having been an integral part of the United States, at the time of said treaty. Our traders to the South, on the Lower Mississippi, complain to our government, with justice, that the members of the N. W. company encircle them on the frontiers of our N. W. territory, and trade with the savages upon superior terms, to what they can afford, who pay the duties of their goods imported from Europe, and subscribe to the regulations prescribed by law.

These representations have at length attracted the attention of our government to the subject in question, and with an intention to do themselves as well as citizens justice, they the last year took some steps to ascertain the facts, and make provision against the growing evil. With this, some geographical, and also local objects in view was I dispatched with discretionary orders, with a party of troops to the source of the Mississippi. I have found, sir, your commerce and establishments, extending beyond our most exaggerated ideas, and in addition to the injury done our revenue, by the evasion of the duties, other acts which are more particularly injurious to the *honor* and *dignity* of our government. The transactions alluded to, are the presenting *medals* of his Britannic majesty, and *flags* of the said government, to the chiefs and warriors resident in the territory of the United States. If political subjects are strictly prohibited to our traders, what would be the ideas of the executive to see foreigners making chiefs, and distributing flags, the standard of an European power. The savages being accustomed to look on that standard, which had been the only prevailing one for years, as that which alone has authority in the country, it would not be in the least astonishing to see them revolt from the United States, limited subjection which is claimed over them by the American government, and thereby be the cause of their receiving a chastisement: although necessary, yet unfortunate as they have been led astray by the policy of the traders of your country.

I must likewise observe, sir, that your establishments, if properly known, would be looked on with an eye of dissatisfaction by our government, for another reason, viz: there being so many furnished posts in case of a rupture between the two powers, the English government would not fail to make use of those as places of deposit of arms, ammunition, &c., to be distributed to the savages who joined their armies; to the great annoyance of our territory, and the loss of the lives of many of our citizens. Your flags, sir, when hoisted in inclosed works, are in direct contradiction of the laws of nations, and their practice in like cases, which only admits of foreign flags being expanded on board of vessels, and at the residence of Ambassadors, or consuls. I am not ignorant of the necessity of your being in such a position as to protect you

from the sallies of the drunken savages, or the more deliberate plans of the intended plunderer; and under those considerations, have I considered your stockades.

You, and the company of which you are a member, must be conscious from the foregoing statement that strict justice would demand, and I assure you that the law directs, under similar circumstances, a total confiscation of your property, personal imprisonment and fines. But having discretionary instructions and no reason to think the above conduct was dictated through ill will or disrespect to our government, and conceiving it in some degree departing from the character of an officer, to embrace the first opportunity of executing those laws, I am willing to sacrifice my prospect of private advantage, conscious that the government look not to interest, but its *dignity* in the transaction, I have therefore to request of you, assurance on the following heads, which setting aside the chicanery of law, as a gentleman, you will strictly adhere to, viz :

That you will make representations to your agents, at your head quarters, on Lake Superior, of the quantity of goods wanted the ensuing spring, for your establishments in the territory of the United States, in time sufficient, or as early as possible, for them to enter them at the C. H. of Michilimackinac, and obtain a clearance and licence to trade in due form.

2d. That you will give immediate instruction to all your posts in said territory, under your direction, at no time and on no pretence whatever to hoist, or suffer to be hoisted, the English flag. If you conceive a flag necessary, you may make use of that of the United States, which is the only one which can be admitted.

3d. That you will on no further occasion, present a flag or medal to an Indian ; hold councils with them on political subjects, or others foreign from that of trade : but on being applied to on those heads, refer them to the American agents, informing them that they are the only persons authorised to hold councils of a political nature with them.

There are many other subjects, such as the distribution of liquor, &c., which would be too lengthy to be treated of in detail. But the company will do well to furnish themselves with our laws, regulating the commerce with the savages, and regulate themselves in our territories accordingly. I embrace this opportunity, to acknowledge myself and command under singular obligations to yourselves and agents, for the assistance which you have rendered us, and the polite treatment with which I have been honored. With sentiments of high respect, for the establishment and yourself.

I am, sir, your obedient servant.

HUGH M'GILLIS, Esq.

Z. M. PIKE.

Proprietor and agent of the N. W. Company,
established at Fond du Lac.

FEBRUARY 9th, *Sunday*.—Mr. M'Gillis and myself paid a visit to Mr. Anderson, an agent of Mr. Dickson, of the Lower Mississippi, who resided at the West end of the lake. Found him elegibly situated as to trade, but his houses bad.

FEBRUARY 10th, *Monday*.—Hoisted the American flag in the fort. The English yacht still flying at the top of the flag staff, I directed the Indians and my riflemen to shoot at it, who soon broke the iron pin to which it was fastened, and brought it to the ground. Reading Shenstone, &c.

FEBRUARY 11th, *Tuesday*.—The Sweet, Buck, Burnt, &c. arrived, all chiefs of note, but the former in particular, a venerable old man. From him I learnt, that the Sioux occupied this ground when (to use his own phrase) "He was a made man, and began to hunt; that they occupied it the year that the French Missionaries were killed, at the river Pacagama."

FEBRUARY 12th, *Wednesday*.—Bradley and myself with Mr. M'Gillis and two of his men, left Leech Lake at 10 o'clock, and arrived at the house at Red Cedar Lake, at sunset; a distance of thirty miles.

FEBRUARY 13th, *Thursday*.—Were favored with a beautiful day. Took the latitude, and found it to be $47^{\circ} 42' 40''$ N. At this place it was, Mr. Thompson made his observations in 1798, from which he determined that the source of the Mississippi was in $47^{\circ} 38'$. I walked about three miles back in the country, at two thirds water. One of our men marched to Lake Winnepie and returned by one o'clock, for the stem of the Sweet's pipe, a matter of more consequence in his affairs, with the Sioux, than the diploma of many an ambassador. We feasted on white fish, roasted on two iron grates fixed horizontally in the back of the chimney; the entrails left in the fish.

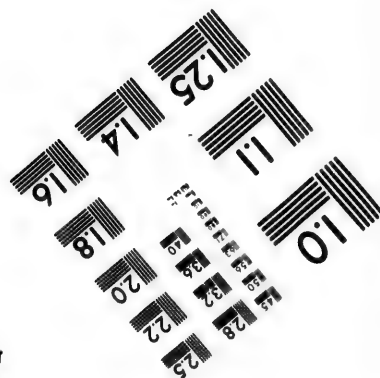
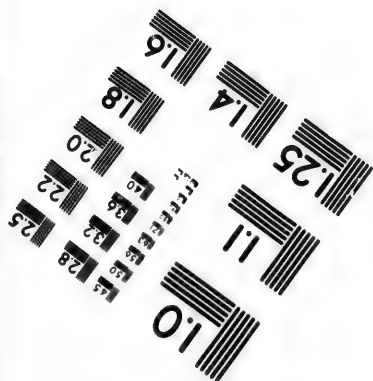
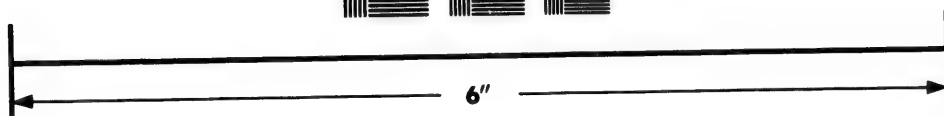
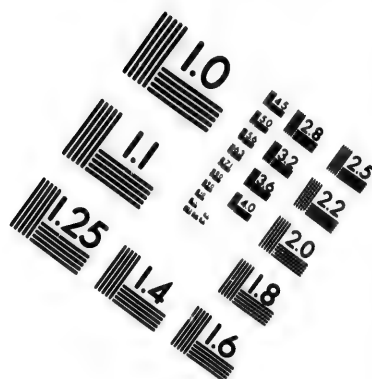
FEBRUARY 14th, *Friday*.—Left the house at nine o'clock. It becomes me here to do justice to the hospitality of our hosts; one Roy, a Canadian and his wife, a Chipoway squaw. They relinquished for our use, the only thing in the house, that could be called a bed; attended us like servants, nor could either of them be persuaded to touch a mouthful until we had finished our repasts. We made the garrison about sundown, having been drawn at least ten miles in a sleigh, by two small dogs; who were loaded with two hundred pounds, and went so fast as to render it difficult, for the men with snow shoes, to keep up with them. The chiefs asked my permission to dance the calumet dance which I granted.

FEBRUARY 15th, *Saturday*.—The Flat Mouth, chief of the Leech Lake village, and many other Indians arrived. Noted down the heads of my speech, and had it translated into French, in order that the interpreter should be perfectly master of his subject. Received a letter from Mr. M'Gillis.

LEECH LAKE, February, 15th, 1806.

SIR :—Your address presented on the 6th inst. has attracted my most serious consideration to the several objects of duties on importations, of presents made to, and our consultations with Indians; of enclosing our stores and dwelling houses, and finally, of the custom obtaining to hoist the British flag on the territory belonging to the United States of America. I shall at as early a period as possible present the agents of the N. W. Company with your representations regarding the paying duties on the importation of goods to be sent to our establishments within the bounds of the Territory of the United States, as also their being entered at the custom house of Michilimackinac, but I beg to be allowed to present for consideration, that the major part of the goods necessary to be sent to the said establishments for the trade of the ensuing winter, are now actually in our stores at Kamanitiguia, our head quarters on Lake Superior, and that it would cause us vast expense and trouble to be obliged to convey those goods back to Michilimackinac to be entered at the custom house office; we therefore pray that the word of gentlemen with regard to the quantity and quality of the said goods to be sent to said establishment, may be considered as equivalent to the certainty of a custom





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house register. Our intention has never been to injure your traders, paying the duties established by law. We hope those representations to your government respecting our concerns with the Indians, may have been dictated with truth, and not exaggerated by envy to prejudice our interests, and to throw a stain on our character, which may require time to efface from the minds of a people, to whom we must ever consider ourselves indebted for the lenity of procedure, of which the present is so notable a testimony. The enclosures to protect our stores and dwelling houses from the insults and barbarity of savage rudeness, have been erected for the security of my property and person in a country, till now, exposed to the wild will of the frantic Indians: we never formed the smallest idea that the said enclosures might ever be useful in the juncture of a rupture between the two powers, nor do we now conceive that such poor shifts will ever be employed by the British government, in a country overshadowed with wood, so adequate to every purpose. Forts might in a short period of time be built far superior to any stockades we may have occasion to erect.

We were not conscious, sir, of the error I acknowledge we have been guilty to commit, by exhibiting to view on your territory any standard of Great Britain. I will pledge myself to your government, that I will use my utmost endeavors, as soon as possible, to prevent the future display of the British flag, or the presenting of medals, or the exhibiting to public view, any other mark of European power, throughout the extent of territory known to belong to the dominion of the United States. The custom has long been established, and we innocently and inoffensively, as we imagined, have conformed to it till the present day.

Be persuaded that on no consideration, shall any Indian be entertained on political subjects, or on any affairs foreign to our trade; and reference shall be made to the American agents, should any application be made worthy such reference; and be assured that we as a commercial company must find it ever our interests to interfere as little as possible with affairs of government in the course of trade; ignorant as we are in this rude and distant country of the political views of nations.

We are convinced that the inestimable advantages arising from the endeavors of your government, to establish a more peaceful course of trade in this part of the territory belonging to the United States, are not acquired through the mere liberality of a nation, and are ready to contribute to the expense necessarily attending them. We are not averse to pay the common duties established by law, and will ever be ready to conform ourselves to all rules and regulations of trade that may be established according to common justice.

I beg to be allowed to say, that we have reason to hope, that every measure will be adopted to secure and facilitate the trade with the Indians; and these hopes seem to be confirmed beyond the smallest idea of doubt, when we see a man sent among us, who instead of private considerations to pecuniary views, prefers the honor, dignity and lenity of his government, and whose transactions are in every respect so conformable to equity. When we behold an armed force ready to protect or chastise as necessity or policy may direct, we know not how to express our gratitude to that people whose only view seems to be to promote the happiness of all, the savages that rove over the wild confines of their domain not excepted.

It is to you, sir, we feel ourselves most greatly indebted, whose claim to honor, esteem and respect, will ever be held in high estimation by myself and associates. The dan-

ger and hardships by your fortitude vanquished, and by your perseverance overcome, are signal, and will ever be preserved in the annals of the N. W. Company. Were it solely from the considerations of those who have exposed their lives in a long and perilous march through a country, where they had every distress to suffer, and many dangers to expect (and this with a view to establish peace in a savage country,) we should think ourselves under the most strict obligation to assist them; but we know we are in a country where hospitality and gratitude are to be considered above every other virtue, and therefore have offered for their relief what our poor means can allow. And, sir, permit me to embrace the opportunity, to testify that I feel myself highly honored by your acceptance of such accommodations as my humble roof could afford.

With great consideration and high respect for the government of the United States, allow me to express my esteem and regard for you.

I am, sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

LIEUT. PIKE,

1st. Regt. United States Infantry.

H. M'GILLIS,

Of N. W. Company.

FEBRUARY 16th, *Sunday*.—Held a council with the chiefs and warriors at this place, and of Red Lake; but it required much patience, coolness, and management to obtain the objects I desired, viz: That they should make peace with the Sioux; deliver up their medals and flags; and that some of their chiefs should follow me to St. Louis. As a proof of their agreeing to the peace, I directed that they should smoke out of the Wabasha's pipe, which lay on the table; they all smoked, from the head chief to the youngest soldier; they generally delivered up their flags with a good grace; except the Flat Mouth, who said he had left both at his camp, three days march, and promised to deliver them up to Mr. M'Gillis, to be forwarded. With respect to their returning with me; the old Sweet thought it most proper to return, to the Indians of the Red Lake, Red River, and Rainy Lake River. The Flat Mouth said, it was necessary for him to restrain his young warriors, &c. The other chiefs did not think themselves of consequence sufficient, to offer any reason for not following me to St. Louis, a journey of between two and three thousand miles through hostile tribes of Indians. I then told them, "that I was sorry to find, that the hearts of the Sauteurs of this quarter, were so weak, that the other nations would say—what, are there no soldiers at Leech, Red, and Rainy Lakes, who had the hearts to carry the calumet of their chief to their father?" This had the desired effect. The Bucks and Beaux, two of the most celebrated young warriors, rose and offered themselves to me, for the embassy; they were accepted; adopted as my children, and I installed their father. Their example animated the others, and it would have been no difficult matter to have taken a company; two however were sufficient. I determined that it should be my care, never to make them regret the noble confidence placed in me; for I would have protected their lives with my own. The Beaux is brother to the Flat Mouth. Gave my new soldiers a dance, and a small dram. They attempted to get more liquor, but a firm and peremptory denial convinced them I was not to be trifled with.

FEBRUARY 18th, *Tuesday*.—We marched for Red Cedar Lake about 11 o'clock, with a guide, provided for me by Mr. M'Gillis; were all provided with snow shoes; marched off amidst the acclamations and shouts of the Indians, who generally had remained to

see us take our departure. Mr. Anderson promised to come on with letters; he arrived about 12 o'clock, and remained all night. He concluded to go down with me, to see Mr. Dickson.

FEBRUARY 19th, *Wednesday*.—Bradley, Mr. L'Rone, the two young Indians, and myself, left Mr. M'Gillis' at 10 o'clock; crossed Leech Lake, in a S. E. direction, 24 miles. Mr. M'Gillis' hospitality deserves to be particularly noticed; he presented me with his dogs and cariole, valued in this country at two hundred dollars; one of the dogs broke out of his harness, and we were not able, during that day, to catch him again, and the other poor fellow was obliged to pull the whole load, at least 150 pounds. This day's march was from lake to lake.

FEBRUARY 24th, *Monday*.—We started early, and after passing over one of the worst roads in the world, found ourselves on a lake, about 3 o'clock; took its outlet and struck the Mississippi about one mile below the canoes mentioned on the 1st of January, by which I knew where we were. Ascended the Mississippi about four miles, and encamped on the West side. Our general course, this day, was nearly South, when it should have been S. E. My young warriors were still in good heart, singing, and shewing every wish to keep me so. The pressure of my racket strings brought the blood through my socks and mockinsons, from which, the pain I marched in may be imagined.

FEBRUARY 25th, *Tuesday*.—We marched, and arrived at Cedar Lake before noon; found Mr. Grant and De Breche (chief of Sandy Lake) at the house. This gave me much pleasure, for I conceive Mr. Grant to be a gentleman of as much candor as any with whom I had made an acquaintance in this quarter; and the chief (De Breche) is reputed to be a man of better information than any of the Sauteurs.

MARCH 3d, *Monday*.—Marched early; passed our Christmas encampment at sunrise. I was ahead of my party, in my cariole. Soon afterwards, I observed smoke on the W. shore. I halloed, and some Indians appeared upon the bank. I waited until my interpreter came up; we then went to the camp. They proved to be a party of Chippeways, who had left the encampment the same day we left it. They presented me with some roast meat, which I gave my sleigh dogs. They then left their camp, and accompanied us down the river. We passed our encampment of the 24th December, at 9 o'clock, of the 23d at 10 o'clock, and of the 22d at 11 o'clock; here the Indians crossed on to the W. shore; arrived at the encampment of the 21st December, at 12 o'clock, where we had a barrel of flour. I here found Corporal Meek, and another man, from the post, from whom I heard that the men were all well. They confirmed the account of a Sioux having fired on a sentinel, and added, that the sentinel had first made him drunk, and then turned him out of the tent, upon which he fired on the sentinel and ran off, but promised to deliver himself up in the spring. The corporal informed me that the sergeant had used all the elegant hams and saddles of venison, which I had preserved to present to the Commander-in-chief, and other friends; that he had made away with all the whiskey, including a keg I had for my own use, having publicly sold it to the men, and a barrel of pork; that he had broken open my trunk and sold some things out of it, traded with the Indians, gave them liquor, &c., and this, too, contrary to my most pointed and particular directions. Thus, after I had used, in going up the river with my party, the strictest economy, living upon two pounds of frozen venison a day, in order that we might have provision to carry us down in the spring, this fellow

was squandering away the flour, pork, and liquor, during the winter, and while we were starving with hunger and cold. I had saved all our corn, bacon, and the meat of six deer, and left it at Sandy Lake, with some tents, my mess boxes, salt, tobacco, &c., all of which we were obliged to sacrifice by not returning the same route we went, and we consoled ourselves at this loss by the flattering idea that we should find at our little post a handsome stock preserved; how mortifying the disappointment. We raised our barrel of flour, and came down to the mouth of a little river, on the East, which we passed on the 21st December. The ice covered with water.

MARCH 5th, *Wednesday*.—Passed all the encampments between Pine Creek and the post, at which we arrived about 10 o'clock. I sent a man on ahead, to prevent the salute I had before ordered by letter; this I did from the idea that the Sioux chiefs would accompany me. Found all well. Confined my Sergeant. About 1 o'clock, Mr. Dickson arrived, with the Killeur Rouge, his son, and two other Sioux men, with two women, who had come up to be introduced to the Sauteurs they expected to find with me. Received a letter from Reinville.

MARCH 15th, *Saturday*.—This was the day fixed upon by Mr. Grant and the Chippeway warriors, for their arrival at my Fort; and I was all day anxiously expecting them, for I knew that should they not accompany me down, the peace partially effected between them and the Sioux would not be on a permanent footing; and upon this I take them to be neither so brave nor generous as the Sioux, who, in all their transactions, appear to be candid and brave, whereas, the Chippeways are *suspicious*, consequently *treacherous*, and, of course *cowards*.

MARCH 17th, *Monday*.—Left the Fort with my interpreter and Roy, in order to visit Thomas, the Fols Avoin chief, who was encamped, with six lodges of his nation, about twenty miles below us, on a little river which empties into the Mississippi, on the W. side, a little above Clear river. On our way down, killed one goose, wounded another, and a deer that the dogs had driven into an air hole; hung our game on the trees. Arrived at the creek, took out on it; ascended three or four miles, on one bank, and descended on the other. Killed another goose. Struck the Mississippi below ———. Encamped at our encampment of the ——— of October, when we ascended the river. Ate our goose for supper. It snowed all day, and at night a very severe storm arose. It may be imagined that we spent a very disagreeable night, without shelter, and but one blanket each.

MARCH 18th, *Tuesday*.—We marched, determined to find the lodges. Met an Indian, whose track we pursued, through almost impenetrable woods, for about two and a half miles, to the camps. Here there was one of the finest sugar camps I almost ever saw, the whole of the timber being sugar tree. We were conducted to the chief's lodge, who received us in the patriarchal style. He pulled off my leggins and moccasins, put me in the best place in his lodge, and offered me dry clothes. He then presented us with syrup of the maple to drink, then asked whether I preferred eating beaver, swan, elk, or deer; upon my giving the preference to the first, a large kettle was filled by his wife, of which soup was made; this being thickened with flour, we had what I then thought a delicious repast. After we had refreshed ourselves, he asked whether we would visit his people at the other lodges, which we did; and in each were presented with something to eat; by some with a bowl of sugar, others, a beaver's tail,

&c. After making this tour, we returned to the chief's lodge, and found a berth provided for each of us, of good soft bear skins, nicely spread, and on mine there was a large feather pillow. I must not here omit to mention an anecdote, which serves to characterize, more particularly, their manners. This, in the eyes of the contracted moralist, would deform my hospitable host into a monster of libertinism; but by a liberal mind, would be considered as arising from the hearty generosity of the wild savage. In the course of the day, observing a ring on one of my fingers, he inquired if it was gold; he was told it was the gift of one with whom I should be happy to be at that time. He seemed to think seriously, and at night told my interpreter, "that perhaps his father (as they all called me) felt much grieved for the want of a woman; if so, he could furnish him with one." He was answered, that with us, each man had but one wife, and that I considered it strictly my duty to remain faithful to her. This he thought strange, (he himself having three,) and replied that "he knew some Americans at his nation, who had half a dozen wives during the winter." The interpreter observed, that they were men without character, but that all our great men had each but one wife. The chief acquiesced, but said he liked better to have as many as he pleased. This conversation passing without any appeal to me, as the interpreter knew my mind on those occasions, and answered immediately, it did not appear as an immediate refusal of the woman. Continued snowing very hard all day. Slept very warm.

MARCH 29th, *Saturday*—We all marched in the morning. Mr. Grant and party for Sandy Lake, and I for my hunting camp. I gave him my spaniel dog. He joined me again after we had separated about five miles. Arrived at my hunting camp about eight o'clock in the morning, and was informed that my hunters had gone to bring in a deer; they arrived with it, and about eleven o'clock we all went out hunting. Saw but few deer, out of which I had the good fortune to kill two. On our arrival at camp found one of my men at the garrison with a letter from Mr. Dickson. The soldier informed me that one Sioux had arrived with Mr. Dickson's men. Although much fatigued, soon as I had eat something, I took one of my men and departed for the garrison one hour before sundown. The distance was twenty-one miles, and the ice very dangerous, being rotten, and the water over it nearly a foot deep; we had sticks in our hands, and in many places ran them through the ice. It thundered and lightened, with rain. The Sioux not finding the Sauteurs, had returned immediately.

MARCH 30th, *Sunday*—Wrote to Mr. Dickson, and dispatched his man. Considerably stiff from my yesterday's march. Caulked our boats, as the ice had every appearance of breaking up in a few days. Thus whilst on the wing of eager expectation, every day seemed an age. Received two deers and a half from our hunting camp.

APRIL 7th, *Monday*—Loaded our boats and departed forty minutes past ten o'clock. At one o'clock arrived at Clear river, where we found my canoe and men. Although I had partly promised the Fols Avoine chief to remain one night, yet time was too precious, and we put off; passed the Grand Rapids, and arrived at Mr. Dickson's just before sundown; we were saluted with three rounds. At night he treated all my men with a supper and dram. Mr. Dickson, Mr. Paulier and myself, sat up until four o'clock in the morning.

APRIL 8th, *Tuesday*—Were obliged to remain this day on account of some information to be obtained here. I spent the day in making a rough chart of St. Peters'

making notes on the Sioux, &c., settling the affairs of the Indian department with Mr. Dickson, for whose communications, and those of Mr. Paulier, I am infinitely indebted. Made every necessary preparation for an early embarkation.

APRIL 9th, *Wednesday*—Rose early in the morning and commenced my arrangement. Having observed two Indians drunk, during the night, and finding upon enquiry, that the liquor had been furnished them by a Mr. Greignor or Jenness, I sent my interpreter to them to request they would not sell any strong liquor to the Indians, upon which Mr. Jenness demanded the restrictions in writing, which were given to him.

Grand Isle, Upper Mississippi, April 9th, 1806.

MR. LA JENNESSE,

SIR:—Being informed that you have arrived here with an intention of selling spirituous liquors to the savages of this quarter, together with other merchandize under your charge. I beg leave to inform you, that the making sale of spirituous liquors on the Indian territories to any savages whatsoever, is contrary to the law of the United States for regulating the trade with the savages; and preserving peace on the frontiers. And that, notwithstanding the custom has hitherto obtained on the Upper Mississippi, no person whatsoever has authority therefor; and as the practice may have a tendency to occasion broils and dissensions amongst the savages, and thereby occasion bloodshed, and an infraction of the good understanding which now (through my endeavors) so happily exists. I have (at your particular request) addressed you this note in writing, informing you that in case of an *infraction*, I shall conceive it my duty, as an officer of the United States, to prosecute according to the *pains* and *penalties* of the law.

I am, sir, with all due consideration,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

Z. M. PIKE, Lt.

On demanding his license, it amounted to no more than merely a certificate that he had paid the tax required by law of the Indian territory, on all retailers of merchandize; but it was by no means an Indian licence; however, I did not think proper to go into a more close investigation. Last night was so cold that the water was covered with floating cakes of ice, of a strong consistence. After receiving every mark of attention from Messrs. Dickson and Paulier, I took my departure at eight o'clock. At four P. M. arrived at the house of Mr. Paulier, twenty-five leagues, to whose brother I had a letter. Was received with politeness by him and a Mr. Veau, who wintered along side of him on the very island at which we had encamped on the night of the — Oct., in ascending.

APRIL 10th, *Thursday*—Sailed at half-past five o'clock; about seven passed Rum river, and at eight were saluted by six or seven lodges of Fols Avoins, amongst whom was a Mr. —, a clerk of Mr. Dickson's. Those people had wintered on Rum river, and were waiting for their chiefs and traders to descend in order to accompany them to the Prairie Des Chiens. Arrived at the Falls of St. Anthony at ten o'clock. Carried over all our loading and the canoe to the lower end of the portage, and hauled our boats upon the bank. I pitched my tents at the lower end of the encampment where all the men encamped except the guard, whose quarters were above. The appearance of the Falls was much more tremendous than when we ascended; the increase of water occasioned the spray to raise much higher, and the mist appeared like clouds. How dif-

ferent my sensations now, from what they were when at this place before ; at that time not having accomplished more than half my route, winter fast approaching ; war existing between the most savage nations in the course of my route ; my provisions greatly diminished, and but a poor prospect of an additional supply. Many of my men sick, and the others not a little disheartened ; and our success in this arduous undertaking, very doubtful ; just upon the borders of the haunts of civilized men, about to launch into an unknown wilderness ; for ours was the first canoe that had ever crossed this portage, were sufficient to dispossess my breast of contentment and ease. But now we have accomplished every wish, peace reigns throughout the vast extent ; we have returned thus far on our voyage, without the loss of a single man, and hoping soon to be blessed with the society of our relations and friends. The river this morning covered with ice, which continued floating all day. The shores still barricaded with it.

APRIL 11th, *Friday*.—Although it snowed very hard, we brought over both boats and descended the river to the island at the entrance of the St. Peters. I sent to the chiefs and informed them I had something to communicate to them. The Fils de Pinchow immediately waited on me, and informed me that he would provide a place for the purpose. About sundown I was sent for and introduced into the council house, where I found a great many chiefs of the Sussitongs, Gens des Feuilles, and the Gens du Lac. The Yanctongs had not yet come down. They were all waiting for my arrival. There were about one hundred lodges, or six hundred people ; we were saluted on our crossing the river with ball as usual. The council house was two large lodges, capable of containing three hundred men. In the upper were forty chiefs, and as many pipes set against the poles, along side of which I had the Sauters' pipes arranged. I then informed them in short detail, of my transactions with the Sauteurs ; but my interpreters were not capable of making themselves understood. I was therefore obliged to omit mentioning every particular relative to the rascal who fired on my sentinel, and of the scoundrel who broke the Fols Avoins' canoes, and threatened my life, the interpreters however informed them that I wanted some of their principal chiefs to go to St. Louis ; and that those who thought proper might descend to the prairie where we would give them more explicit information. They all smoked out of the Sauteurs' pipes, excepting three, who were painted black, and were some of those who lost their relations last winter. I invited the Fils de Pinchow, and the son of the Killeur Rouge, to come over and sup with me ; when Mr. Dickson and myself endeavored to explain what I intended to have said to them, could I have made myself understood ; that at the prairie we would have all things explained ; that I was desirous of making a better report of them than Capt. Lewis could do from their treatment of him. The former of those savages was the person who remained around my post all last winter, and treated my men so well ; they endeavored to excuse their people, &c.

APRIL 12th, *Saturday*.—Embarked early. Although my interpreter had been frequently up the river, he could not tell me where the cave (spoken of by Carver) could be found ; we carefully sought for it, but in vain. At the Indian village, a few miles above St. Peters, we were about to pass a few lodges, but on receiving a very particular invitation to come on shore, we landed, and were received in a lodge kindly ; they presented us sugar, &c. I gave the proprietor a dram, and was about to depart when he demanded a kettle of liquor ; on being refused, and after I had left the shore, he told me, that he did not like the arrangements, and that he would go to war this summer. I

directed the interpreter to tell him, that if I returned to the St. Peters with the troops, I would settle that affair with him. On our arrival at the St. Croix, I found the Petit Corbeau with his people, and Messrs. Frazer and Wood. We had a conference, when the Petit Corbeau made many apologies for the misconduct of his people; he represented to us the different manners in which the young warriors had been inducing him to go to war; that he had been much blamed for dismissing his party last fall; but that he was determined to adhere as far as lay in his power to our instructions; that he thought it most prudent to remain here and restrain the warriors. He then presented me with a beaver robe and pipe, and his message to the general. That he was determined to preserve peace, and make the road clear; also a remembrance of his promised medal, I made a reply, calculated to confirm him in his good intentions, and assured him that he should not be the less remembered by his father, although not present. I was informed, that, notwithstanding the instruction of his license, and my particular request, Murdoch Cameron had taken liquor and sold it to the Indians on the river St. Peters; and that his partner below had been equally imprudent. I pledged myself to prosecute them according to law; for they have been the occasion of great confusion, and of much injury to the other traders. This day met a canoe of Mr. Dickson's loaded with provisions, under the charge of Mr. Anderson, brother of the Mr. Anderson at Leech Lake. He politely offered me any provision he had on board, (for which Mr. Dickson had given me an order) but not now being in want, I did not accept of any. This day, for the first time, I observed the trees beginning to bud, and indeed the climate seemed to have changed very materially since we passed the Falls of St. Anthony.

APRIL 13th, *Sunday*—We embarked after breakfast. Messrs. Frazer and Wood accompanied me. Wind strong ahead. They out-rowed us; the first boat or canoe we met with on the voyage able to do it, but then they were double manned and light. Arrived at the band of the Aile Rouge at two o'clock, where we were saluted as usual. We had a council, when he spoke with more detestation of the rascals at the mouth of the St. Peters, than any man I had yet heard. He assured me, speaking of the fellow who had fired on my sentinel and threatened to kill me, that if I thought it requisite, he should be killed; but that as there were many chiefs above, with whom he wished to speak, he hoped I would remain one day, when all the Sioux would be down, and I might have the command of a thousand men of them, that I would probably think it no honor; but that the British used to flatter them they were proud of having them for soldiers. I replied in general terms, and assured him it was not for the conduct of two or three rascals that I meant to pass over all the good treatment I had received from the Sioux nation; but that in general council I would explain myself. That as to the scoundrel who fired at my sentinel, had I been at home the Sioux nation would never have been troubled with him, for I would have killed him on the spot. But that my young men did not do it, apprehensive that I would be displeased. I then gave him the news of the Sauteurs, &c., that as to remaining one day, it would be of no service; that I was much pressed to arrive below; as my general expected me, my duty called me, and that the state of my provision demanded the utmost expedition; that I would be happy to oblige him, but that my men must eat. He replied that Lake Pepin being yet shut with ice, if I went on and encamped on the ice, it would not get me provision. That he would send out all his young men the next day; and, that if the other bands did not arrive he would depart the day after with me. In short, after much talk, I agreed to

remain one day, knowing that the Lake was closed, and that we could proceed only nine miles if we went ; this appeared to give general satisfaction.

I was invited to different feasts, and entertained at one by a person whose father was enacted a chief by the Spaniards. At this feast I saw a man (called by the French the Roman Nose, and by the Indians the Wind that Walks) who was formerly the second chief of the Sioux, but being the cause of the death of one of the traders, seven years since, he voluntarily relinquished the dignity, and has frequently requested to be given up to the whites. But he was now determined to go to St. Louis and deliver himself up where he said they might put him to death. His long repentance, the great confidence of the nation in him, would perhaps protect him from a punishment which the crime merited. But as the crime was committed long before the United States assumed its authority, and as no law of theirs could affect it, unless it was *ex post facto*, and had a retrospective effect, I conceive it would certainly be dispunishable now. I did not think proper however, to inform him so. I here received a letter from Mr. Rollet, partner of Mr. Cameron, with a present of some brandy, coffee and sugar. I hesitated about receiving those articles from the partner of the man I intended to prosecute; their amount being trifling however I accepted of them, offering him pay. I assured him that the prosecution arose from a sense of duty, and not from any personal prejudice. My canoe did not come up in consequence of the head wind. Sent out two men in a canoe to set fishing lines; the canoe overset, and had it not been for the timely assistance of the savages, who carried them into their lodges, undressed them, and treated them with the greatest humanity and kindness, they must inevitably have perished. At this place I was informed, that the rascal spoken of as having threatened my life, had actually cocked his gun to shoot me from behind the hills, but was prevented by the others.

APRIL 14th, *Monday*.—Was invited to a feast by the *Roman Nose*. His conversation was interesting, and shall be detailed hereafter. The other Indians not yet arrived. Messrs. Wood, Frazer, and myself, ascended a high hill called the Barn, from which we had a view of Lake Pepin. The valley through which the Mississippi by numerous channels wound itself to the St. Croix; the Cannon River and the lofty hills on each side.

April 15th, *Tuesday*.—Arose very early and embarked about sunrise, much to the astonishment of the Indians, who were entirely prepared for the council, when they heard I had put off; however, after some conversation with Mr. Frazer, they acknowledged that it was agreeably to what I had said, that I would sail early, and that they could not blame me. I was very positive in my word, for I found it by far the best way to treat the Indians. The *Aile Rouge* had a beaver robe and pipe prepared to present, but was obliged for the present to retain it. Passed through Lake Pepin with my barges, the canoe being obliged to lay by, did not come on. Slept at a prairie on the right bank descending, about nine miles below Lake Pepin. Went out to view some hills which had the appearance of the old fortifications spoken of; but I will speak more fully of them hereafter. In these hollows I discovered a flock of elk, took out fifteen men, but we were not able to kill any. Mr. Frazer came up and passed on about two miles. We encamped together. Neither Mr. Wood's nor my canoe arrived. Snowed considerably.

APRIL 16th, *Wednesday*.—Mr. Frazer's canoes and my boats sailed about one hour by

sun. We waited some time expecting Mr. Wood's barges, and my canoe, but hearing a gun fired first just above our encampment, we were induced to make sail. Passed the Aile Prairie, also La Montagne qui Trompe a L'eau, the prairie De Cross, and encamped on the West shore, a few hundred yards below, where I had encamped on the — day of September, in ascending. Killed a goose flying. Shot at some pigeons at our camp, and was answered from behind an island with two guns; we returned them, and were replied to by two more. This day the trees appeared in bloom. Snow might still be seen on the sides of the hills. Distance seventy-five miles.

APRIL 17th, *Thursday*.—Put off pretty early and arrived at Wabasha's band at 11 o'clock, where I detained all day for him; but he alone of all the hunters remained out all night. Left some powder and tobacco for him. The Sioux presented me with a kettle of boiled meat and a deer. I here received information that the Puants had killed some white men below. Mr. Wood's and my canoe arrived.

APRIL 18th, *Friday*.—Departed from our encampment very early. Stopped to breakfast at the Painted Rock. Arrived at the Prairie Des Cheins at two o'clock; and were received by crowds on the bank. Took up my quarters at Mr. Fisher's. My men received a present of one barrel of pork from Mr. Campbell, a bag of biscuit, twenty loaves of bread, and some meat from Mr. Fisher. A Mr. Jearreau, from Cahok'a, is here, who embarks to-morrow for St. Louis. I wrote to General Wilkinson by him. I was called on by a number of chiefs, Reynards, Sioux of the Des Moyan, &c. The Winnebagoes were here intending, as I was informed, to deliver some of the murderers to me. Received a great deal of news from the States and Europe, both civil and military.

APRIL 19th, *Saturday*.—Dined at Mr. Campbell's in company with Messrs. Wilmot Blakely, Wood, Rollet, Fisher, Frazer, and Jearreau. Six canoes arrived from the upper part of the St. Peters with the Yanctong chiefs from the head of that river. Their appearance was indeed savage, much more so than any nation I have yet seen. Prepared my boat for sail. Gave notice to the Puants that I had business to do with them the next day. A band of the Gens Du Lac arrived. Took into my pay as interpreter Mr. Y. Reinville.

APRIL 20th, *Sunday*.—Held a council with the Puant chiefs, and demanded of them the murderers of their nation; they required till to-morrow to consider on it; this afternoon they had a great game of the cross on the prairie, between the Sioux on the one side, and the Puants and Reynards on the other. The ball is made of some hard substance and covered with leather, the cross sticks are round and net-work, with handles of three feet long. The parties being ready, and bets agreed upon, (sometimes to the amount of some thousand dollars) the goals are set up on the prairie at the distance of half a mile. The ball is thrown up in the middle, and each party strives to drive it to the opposite goal; and when either party gains the first rubber, which is driving it quick round the post, the ball is again taken to the centre, the ground changed, and the contest renewed; and this is continued until one side gains four times, which decides the bet. It is an interesting sight to see two or three hundred naked savages contending on the plain who shall bear off the palm of victory; as he who drives the ball round the goal is much shouted at by his companions. It sometimes happens that one catches the ball in his racket, and depending on his speed endeavors to carry it to the goal, and when he

finds himself too closely pursued, he hurls it with great force and dexterity to an amazing distance, where there are always flankers of both parties ready to receive it; it seldom touches the ground, but is sometimes kept in the air for hours before either party can gain the victory. In the game I witnessed, the Sioux were victorious, more I believe, from the superiority of their skill in throwing the ball, than by their swiftness, for I thought the Puants and Reynards the swiftest runners. I made a written demand of the magistrates to take deposition concerning the late murders. Had a private conversation with Wabasha.

APRIL 25th, *Monday*.—Was sent for by La Fenille, and had a long and interesting conversation with him, in which he spoke of the general jealousy of his nation towards their chiefs; and that although he knew it might occasion some of the Sioux displeasure, he did not hesitate to declare that he looked on the Nez Corbeau, as the man of most sense in their nation; and that he believed it would be generally acceptable if he was reinstated in his rank. Upon my return I was sent for by the *Red Thunder*, chief of the Yanctongs, the most savage band of the Sioux. He was prepared with the most elegant pipes and robes I ever saw; and shortly he declared, "That white blood had never been shed in the village of the Yanctongs, even when rum was permitted; that Mr. Murdoch Cameron arrived at his village last autumn; that he invited him to eat, gave him corn as a bird; that he (Cameron) informed him of the prohibition of rum, and was the only person who afterwards sold it in the village." After this I had a council with the Puants. Spent the evening with Mr. Wilmot, one of the best informed and most gentlemanly man in the place.

APRIL 22d, *Tuesday*.—Held a council with the Sioux and Puants, the latter of whom delivered up their medals and flags. Prepared to depart to-morrow.

CHAPTER XII.

AMERICAN TRADE.

AFTER the treaty of 1815, at Portage des Sioux, with the lower bands of the Sioux, a U. S. trading post was established at Prairie du Chien. The United States hoped to be able to sell goods at such low prices, that they could obtain the furs and the confidence of the Indians, and thus exclude British traders. The factories or trading posts were however often distant from Indian villages. They moreover, did not sell on credit, as private traders were wont to do, and thus they did not secure either the peltries or friendship of the tribes.

The British traders on the Mississippi, always had the advantage of the U. S. factories. Accustomed to Indian life, inured to fatigue, intermarried with the Indians, they followed the hunting parties as far as they could in their canoes. They then stopped and threw up rude huts, and sent *engages* with goods packed on their shoulders, to obtain the furs of those Indians that had not already bought on credit. But not only was the U. S. trading-houses at Prairie du Chien, unable to compete with the British traders in Minnesota, but virtually became an instrument in their hands. The British traders, returning to Prairie du Chien with peltries from the Upper Mississippi and Minne-

sota, would employ Indians to purchase goods at United States prices, and thus obtain a new outfit at less cost than if they had transported from Montreal.

From the year 1815, Gov. Edwards and others saw the defects of the American system; but it was long before Congress could be induced to make a change. The factory at Prairie du Chien traded, not only with the Dakotas, but with the Sanks and Foxes, Chippewas, Winnebagoes and Menominees. From the following table can be seen the kind and quantity of furs received there during the first four years of its operation:

Statement showing the kind and quantity of peltries, etc., received at the U. S. Trading Post, at Prairie du Chien:

Furs, Peltries, etc.,	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.
Deer skins,	4451	2441	4115	3251
Bear "	123	203	135	30
Beaver "	496	694	786	303
Otter "	54	480	517	188
Raccoon "	261	2685	1996	371
Muskrat "	2445	14,015	16,712	9748
Fox "		7	144	
Fisher "		97	216	62
Mink "		240		
Wild cat,		92		48
Martin,				0
Lead,			199,894 lbs	67,799 lbs
Feathers,			834 lbs	734 lbs
Cash sales,	\$424 40	\$3,199 32	\$3,266 77	\$427 87
Fur sales,	\$4,486 39	10,364 95	24,375 65	5,963 88

The receipts and sales for the year 1819, show that the Indian did not feel disposed to continue to trade at the U. S. factory.

At the commencement of the year 1822, there was much excitement caused by the controversy in relation to the usefulness of the U. S. factory system, and a committee was appointed by the U. S. Senate to investigate the condition of the factories.

Many complaints were made against the factor at Prairie du Chien, by those who wished to see the factories abolished.

Ramsay Crooks, who was largely engaged in trade, and agent of the American Fur Company, and of course an interested witness, in a communication to the Senate Committee, remarks:—"That the factories have been furnished with goods of a kind not suitable to the Indians, unless the committee should be of opinion that men and women's coarse and fine shoes, worsted and cotton hose, tea, glauher salts, alum and anti-bilious pills, are necessary to promote the comfort, or restore the health of the Aborigines; or

that green silk, fancy ribands, and morocco slippers are indispensable to eke out the dress of our 'red sisters.' " *

Mr. Crooks also remarked, that in 1816, the factor at Prairie du Chien furnished goods to a Mr. Antoine Brisbois, whom he well knew had but a few days before been refused a license by the proper officer, and that in 1818, a Mr. Michael Brisbois, a brother received goods. A Mr. Scott Campbell was also supplied in 1820, and a Mr. Duncan Campbell, who then traded on the Upper Mississippi, was furnished with an outfit, at the very time he was acting as interpreter to the Indian Agency at Fort Snelling, which was then first established.

Mr. Crooks concluded his communication with the following remarks upon the moral tendency of the factories:—"Little as I value the factory system, so far as it is considered a means of attaching the Indians to the United States, I do think they are, if possible, still less capable of producing religious information in either the Indians or anybody else.

"The factories have now degenerated into mere places of trade, to which all colors, descriptions, and denominations of people resort for barter; and bear a much more striking resemblance to common country stores, than to the public establishments of a benevolent government. The desperate efforts which the factors make to secure individually their reputation as traders, and jointly to prop the questionable pecuniary credit of the whole system, are, in my opinion, but little favorable to that serenity of mind, mildness of disposition, and undeviating conformity to a strictly moral deportment, which we in civilized society, consider essential qualities in those we trust as our guides to another and better world. Even we value example as high as precept; with savages, the former as more likely to be efficacious.

"And believing these gentlemen to be equally fallible with the generality of their brethren in trade, I should imagine they were selected by the Superintendent of Indian Trade more for their *trafficking* than *apostolic* abilities, as the head of that department is too intimately acquainted with the nature of missions among a rude people, to have appointed the present incumbents to teach repentance and remission of sins to the children of the wilderness. It is hardly necessary to add, that I do not believe that either factories or factors are likely to enlarge the jurisdiction of the church."

Shortly after this investigation, Congress resolved to abolish the trading posts, and the buildings at Prairie du Chien were sold.

After the United States troops arrived, in 1819, to build Fort Snelling, Astor and his associates were busy in extending their trade with the Ojibwas. As early as 1805, we find J. B. Faribault encamped opposite Mendota, trading with the Indians. In 1822, the Columbia Fur Company was organized. This was modelled after the Northwest Company, and consisted of few individuals, all of whom had a practical acquaintance with the trade. They received their license from the newly appointed Indian Agent at

* These remarks were made in view of the following charges on the books of the factory at Prairie du Chien :

	Michael Brisbois, in acc't with John W. Johnson:		
June 25, 1819.	4 boxes anti-bilious pills, a 75,	- - - - -	\$3 00
Nov. 11, "	1 pair fine shoes,	- - - - -	3 00
	Joseph Rolette, in acc't with J. W. Johnson :		
July 19, 1819.	1 fancy silk handkerchief, per Mrs. R.,	- - - - -	\$2 00
Oct. 25, "	3 lbs. tea, delivered La Blanc, a \$3 50,	- - - - -	10 50
Jan. 24, 1820.	1-2 lb. glauber salts,	- - - - -	50
Feb. 29, "	1-2 yd. green silk per Polly,	- - - - -	1 00

Fort St. Anthony (Snelling). The principal members of the company were Renville, Faribault, Jeffries, Prescott, and McKenzie, of St. Louis. Their principal establishment was at Lake Traverse, and they had also some ten or eleven minor posts.

The trading houses on the Minnesota river, in 1822, made up the following packs:

	No. of Packs.	Weight.	No. of skins in each.
Buffalo,	168		10
Muskrat,	40		600
Raccoon,	6	100 lbs.	80
Beaver,	4	100 "	80
Otter,	4	100 "	60 prime.
Fisher,	3	100 "	120
Mink,	4	100 "	450
Bear,	6	100 "	14
Red Fox,	1	100 "	120

Until the American Fur Company systematized the trade in Minnesota, and Congress took measures to exclude whiskey dealers from the Indians, trade was carried on in a way to make humanity blush. The following letter of Colonel Snelling, written while in command of the Fort that bears his name, and addressed to the Secretary of War, exhibits the disgraceful condition of affairs at that time:

"In former letters addressed to the Department of War, I have adverted to the mischievous consequences resulting from the introduction of whiskey, and other distilled spirits, into the Indian country. The pretext is, that our traders cannot enter into successful competition with the British traders without it. If the sale of whiskey could be restricted to the vicinity of the British line, the mischief would be comparatively trivial, but if permitted at all, no limits can be set to it. A series of petty wars and murders, and the introduction of every species of vice and debauchery, by the traders and their engagees, will be the consequence. It becomes, also, a fruitful source of complaint with those engaged in the same trade from the West. The traders who obtain their supplies from St. Louis, pass Fort Snelling, where, in obedience to the orders I have received from the President, their boats are searched, and no spirituous liquors are permitted to be taken further.

The traders who are licensed for the lakes, spread themselves over the whole country between Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi; their whiskey attracts a large proportion of the Indians to their trading houses; and the Western traders not only have to complain of the loss of custom, but, in many instances, the Indians who have obtained their goods of them, are seduced by whiskey to carry their winter's hunt to others. This has long been one of the tricks of the trade. The traders, who are not generally restrained by any moral rules, after they pass the boundary, practise it without scruple, whenever opportunity occurs, and he who has the most whiskey generally carries off the furs. They are so far from being ashamed of the practice, that it affords them subject for conversation by their winter fires. I have myself frequently heard them boast of their exploits in that way. The neighborhood of the trading houses where whiskey is sold presents a disgusting scene of drunkenness, debauchery and misery. In my route from St. Peters to this place, (Detroit,) I passed Prairie du Chien, Green Bay and Mackinac; no language can describe the scenes of vice which there present themselves. Herds of Indians are drawn together by the fascinations of whiskey, and they exhibit the most degraded picture of human nature I ever witnessed."

CHAPTER XIII.

NOTED EARLY INDIAN TRADERS—DICKSON, MORRISON AND JOSEPH RENVILLE.

PIKE was too sanguine in relation to the beneficial effects of his tour upon the traders and savages of Minnesota. Though everything promised well while he was in the country, his back had hardly been turned before British influence began to be felt again. The leader of the British party was Dickson. When Pike was at Prairie du Chien, on his way to the head waters of the Mississippi, Dickson was at Mackinaw; but, in the winter of 1805-6, he had a trading post not very far below Sauk Rapids. In December, 1805, he paid a visit to Pike, who was quartered near Swan river, and made a most favorable impression on the Lieutenant. Pike, recording a note of the visit in his Journal, says:

"He gave me much useful information relative to my future route, which gave me great encouragement as to the certainty of my accomplishing the object of my voyage to the fullest extent. He seemed to be a gentleman of general commercial knowledge, and possessing much geographical information of the Western country; of open, frank manners."

Dickson had a partner by the name of Grant, at Lower Red Cedar Lake, and Pike, on the 2d of February, 1806, wrote to Dickson from that point as follows:

"Mr. Grant was prepared to go on a trading voyage amongst the Fols Avoins; but it was what I could not by any means admit of, and I hope, on a moment's reflection, you will admit the justice of my refusal; for what could be a greater piece of injustice, than for me to admit you to send goods, *illegally* brought into the country, down into the same quarter, to trade for the credits of men who have paid their duties, regularly taken out licenses, and in other respects acted conformably to law. They might exclaim with justice:—What! Lieutenant Pike, not content with suffering the laws to slumber, when it was his duty to have executed them, has now suffered the Northwest Company's agents to come over here, to violate them, and injure the citizens of the United States! certainly, he must be corrupted, to admit this. This, sir, would be the natural conclusion of all persons."

On the 7th of April, 1806, Pike visited the trading post of Dickson, near Sauk Rapids, and talked with him all night about the affairs of the Indian Department. Dickson accompanied him to a conference with the Dakotas, on the island in front of Fort Snelling. In five years from this time, we find him using his whole influence against the United States. In July, 1811, he escorts a party of Menomonees, Dakotas and Winnebagoes to the British at Mackinac. A few months after this, Governor Edwards, of the Illinois Territory, writes to the Secretary of War:

"The opinion of Dickson, the celebrated British trader, is, that in the event of a war with Great Britain, all the Indians will be opposed to us, and he hopes to engage them in hostility by making peace between the Sioux and Chippewas, two very large Nations, and in getting them to declare war against us."

The title of Dickson was, "Agent and Superintendent to the Western Nations."

On the first of May, 1812, two Indians were apprehended at Chicago, who were on their way to meet Mr. Dickson, at Green Bay. They had taken the precaution to put their letters in their mocassins, and bury them in the ground, and were allowed to pro-

ceed. A Mr. Frazier, of Prairie du Chien, who went with Dickson to the portage of Wisconsin, and who was present when the letters were received, stated that Dickson was informed that the British flag would soon be flying on the American garrison at Mackinaw. About the same time, Cadotte, Dice, and John Askins, were at Fond du Lac, Superior, collecting Indians. In February, 1814, while Dickson is collecting and distributing provisions among the Indians, at Green Bay, the British post of St. Joseph is captured by the Americans, and Mr. Bailly, and five others, connected with the Mackinaw Company, taken.

MILITARY OCCUPANCY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN BY THE AMERICANS.

On the first of May, 1814, Governor Clark, with two hundred men, left St. Louis, to build a Fort at the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi. Twenty days before he arrived at Prairie du Chien, Dickson had started for Mackinaw, with a band of Sioux and Winnebagoes. The place was left in command of Captain Deace and the Mackinaw Fencibles. The Sioux, refusing to co-operate, when the Americans made their appearance they fled. The Americans took possession of the old Mackinaw house, in which they found nine or ten trunks, of papers belonging to Dickson. From one they took the following extract:—

"Arrived, from below, a few Winnebagoes, with scalps. Gave them tobacco, six pounds powder, and six pounds ball."

The Americans built a Fort, named "Shelby," with two block houses in the angles, and another on the bank of the river, with a communication. On the twentieth of July, 1814, they surrendered to a force of two hundred regulars and six hundred Indians, in charge of a British lieutenant. After the surrender, the American gun-boats returned to St. Louis. Among the passengers was a friendly "one-eyed Sioux," who had behaved gallantly when the boat was attacked by British artillery. In the fall of the same year, this one-eyed Sioux, with another of the same Nation, ascended the Missouri, under the protection of the distinguished trader, Manuel Lisa, as far as the Au Jacques river, and from thence he struck across the country, enlisting the Sioux in favor of the United States, and at length arrived at Prairie du Chien. On his arrival, Dickson accosted him, and inquired from whence he came, and what was his business, at the same time rudely snatching his bundle from his shoulders, and searching for letters. The "one-eyed" warrior told him that he was from St. Louis, and that he had promised the white chiefs there that he would go to Prairie du Chien, and that he had kept his promise.

Dickson then placed him in confinement in Fort McKay, as the garrison was called by the British, and ordered him to divulge what information he possessed or he would put him to death. But the faithful fellow said he would impart nothing, and that he was ready for death if he wished to kill him. Finding that confinement had no effect, Dickson at last liberated him. He then left and visited the bands of Sioux on the Upper Mississippi, with which he passed the winter. When he returned in the spring, Dickson had gone to Mackinaw, and Captain Bulger was in command of the Fort.

While there, on May 23d, 1815, the British evacuated the Fort, the news of peace having arrived. As they retired, they fired the Fort with the American colors flying, and the brave Sioux exposing himself to the flames rushed in and bore off the American flag and an American medal.

This one-eyed Sioux, if Dr. Foster of Hastings is correct, is still living. In an arti-

cle published in the *Minnesota Democrat*, May 1854, he speaks of the signers of the treaty between Pike, on the part of the U. S., and the Dakotas. He says :

"I have omitted till the last, mention of *Le Original Lève*, who, next to Little Crow, appears to have been the most prominent individual present. Pike calls him 'my friend,' and seems to have made him some marked presents—indeed, the Indian relationship and tie of comradeship was probably adopted between them." Pike says, he 'was a war chief, and that he gave him, my [his] father's tomahawk,' though what he means by that, passes my comprehension. In the table of Indian chiefs, etc., in the appendix to Pike's *Journal*, he is set down as belonging to the *Medaywokant'wans* ; his Indian name is given as *Tahamie*, his French as *L'Original Lève*, and his English as the '*Rising Moose*,' which is stated to be literally translated.

"I believe this war chief to be identical with the aged Indian, with whom most of the old settlers are familiar, by the name of *Tah-mah-haw*, whose characteristics are one eye, and his always wearing a stove-pipe hat. He is remarkable among the Sioux—and it is his greatest pride and boast—that he is the only *American* in his tribe. This is explained by the fact, that in the war with Great Britain, in 1812, when the rest of the Sioux sided with the British, and when Little Crow, with Joseph Renville, led on a war party to join the British army against us, he refused to participate on that side, and joined the Americans at St. Louis, where he was employed by Gen. Clarke, in the American service.

"He has now in his possession, and carefully keeps, a commission from Gen. Clarke, dated in 1814, as a chief of the Sioux—the commission says of the *Red Wing* band of Indians—which was originally part of *Wabashaw's* band.

"If he is the same person as *L'Original Lève*, then Pike and his Indian comrade fought in the same ranks, and the friendship the latter imbibed at Pike's visit, for the Americans, stood the test of time and vicissitudes.

"He deserves on this account to receive from the government authorities, special and marked attention.

"Joseph Mojou, an old Canadian of Point Prescott, told me that *Tamahaw* was called by the voyageurs, the "Old Priest," because he was a great talker on all occasions. In Sioux, *Tamwamula* means to talk earnestly ; to vociferate ; and this bears some resemblance to his Indian name as at present pronounced.

"My friend Mr. Hatch informs me, when he traded with the Winnebagoes and with the Sioux of *Wabashaw* band, he knew him, and has seen his commission from General Clarke. The Winnebagoes, who were acquainted with him, translated his name to mean the *pike* fish, and therefore called him *Nazekkah*—though *tah-mah-haw* and no *tah-mah-haw*, is the word for pike in the Dakotah tongue.

"It may be thought more pains are taken to elucidate this personal history of an old Indian, than the subject warrants. But when we reflect that this old Indian was the contemporary, if not personal friend of Pike; that he and one other Sioux were of all his tribe who sided with the Americans in the war of 1812 ; there is an interest justly attached to his identity and history, which deserves more than ordinary attention. The other Sioux who, like *Tamahaw* joined the Americans in 1812, was *Hay-pee-dan* who belonged to *Wakootay's* band. He is now deceased."

As late as 1817, Col. Dickson was living in Minnesota, at Lake Traverse, and the Indian agent at *Prairie du Chien*, suspected that he was alienating the Dakotas from

the United States, and in company with Lord Selkirk, striving to secure their trade, as the following extract from his letter of Feb. 16, 1818, to the governor of Illinois will show :

"What do you suppose, sir, has been the result of the passage through my agency, of this British nobleman ? (Lord Selkirk.) Two entire bands, and part of a third, all Sioux have deserted us and joined Dickson, who has distributed to them large quantities of Indian presents, together with flags, medals, etc. Knowing this, what must have been my feelings on hearing that his lordship had met with a favorable reception at St. Louis. The newspapers announcing *his arrival, and general Scottish* appearance, all tend to discompose me; believing as I do, that he is plotting with his friend Dickson, our destruction—sharpening the savage scapling knife, and colonizing a tract of country, so remote as that of the Red river, for the purpose, no doubt, of monopolizing the fur and peltry trade of this river, the Missouri and their waters—a trade of the first importance to our Western States and territories. A courier, who had arrived a few days since, confirms the belief that Dickson is endeavoring to undo what I have done, and secure to the British government the affections of the Sioux, and subject the Northwest Company to his lordship. * * * * * Dickson, as I have before observed, is situated near the head of the St. Peter's, to which place he transports his goods from Selkirk's Red river establishment, in carts made for the purpose. The trip is performed in five days, sometimes less. He is directed to build a Fort on the highest land between Lac du Travers, and Red river, which he supposes will be the established line between the two countries. This Fort will be defended by twenty men, with two small pieces of artillery."

It is said that after this, Dickson was arrested between the Minnesota, and St. Croix, and carried to St. Louis.

He died at Queenstown, in Canada, and one of his grand-children is the wife of the Bois Brule trader, Joseph La Frambois, who has lived for some years on the Upper Minnesota.

WILLIAM MORRISON—EXPLORER TO THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

A brother of the Indian trader, Allan Morrison, of Crow Wing, is probably the oldest of the early Indian traders now living, with the exception of Faribault, a notice of whom will be found in Hon. H. H. Sibley's address, in a subsequent chapter. Some interesting particulars of his residence in Minnesota, are found in his letter to his brother, and in the communication of the latter to Ex-Governor Ramsey, the President of the Society :

CROW WING, BENTON COUNTY, M. T.,
17th February, 1856.

HON. ALEXANDER RAMSEY, St. Paul.

DEAR SIR—Inclosed you will find who the first discoverer of the source of the Mississippi is. William Morrison, my brother, came to this country in 1802, and left in 1826. He is now seventy-five years of age, and was the first American citizen who extended the first line of trading posts from Old Grand Portage to Lake of the Woods; was then agent for the old American Fur Company, of New York, and is well known in the West, by all the oldest pioneers. I am astonished that Mr. Schoolcraft should claim that honor, for I could with safety claim it before him myself; for I saw Itaska Lake before that gentleman or Mr. Nicollet ever thought of coming to this part of the country. You will much oblige me by presenting the within information to the Historical Society

of Minnesota, to which I will add, hereafter, some information relative to the first traders, their progress, etc.

I remain yours, most respectfully,

ALLAN MORRISON.

ALLAN MORRISON, Esq.:

DEAR BROTHER—In answering your favor of the 10th Jan'y, I will pass several incidents that I presume you are well informed of, and give you the time and circumstances that led me to be the first white man that discovered the source of the great Mississippi river. I left Grand Portage, on the North shore of Lake Superior, now the boundary line between the United States and the British Possessions, in the year 1802, and landed at Leech Lake in September or October, the same year. I wintered on one of the streams of the Crow Wing, near its source. Our Indians were Pillagers. In 1803 and 4, I went and wintered at Rice Lake. I passed by Red Cedar Lake, now called Cass Lake, followed up the Mississippi to Cross Lake, and then up the Mississippi again to Elk Lake, now called Itaska Lake, the source of the great river Mississippi. A short distance this side, I made a portage, to get to Rice river, which is called the Portage of the Heights of Land, or the dividing ridge that separates the waters of the Mississippi, and those that empty into the Red River of the North; thence to Hudson's Bay, the portage is short.

I discovered no traces of any white man before me, when I visited Itaska Lake, in 1804. And if the late General Pike did not lay it down as such, when he came to Leech Lake, it is because he did not happen to meet me. I was at an outpost that winter. The late General Pike laid down Cass Lake, on his map, as the head of the Mississippi river. In 1811-12, I went the same route, to winter on Rice river, near the plains. There I overtook a gentleman with an outfit, from Mackinac, by the name of Otesse, with whom I parted only at Fond du Lac, he taking the Southern route, to Mackinac, and I the Northern to head quarters, which had been changed from Grand Portage to Fort William. This will explain to you that I visited Itaska Lake, then called Elk Lake, in 1803-4, and in 1811-12, and five small streams that empty into the lake, that are short, and soon lose themselves in the swamps.

By way of explanation, why the late General Pike, then Captain Pike, in 1805, who had orders to stem the Mississippi to its source, and was stopped by the ice a little below Swan river, at the place since called Pike's Rapids or Pike's Block House, and had to proceed from there to Leech Lake on foot. He had to learn there where the source of the Mississippi was. He went to Cass Lake, and could proceed no further. He had been told that I knew the source, but could not see me, I being out at an outpost. This want of information made him commit the error; some person, not knowing better, told him there was no river above Cass Lake. Cass Lake receives the waters of Cross Lake, and Cross Lake those of Itaska Lake, and five small streams that empty into Itaska Lake, then called Elk Lake. Those streams I have noted before, no white man can claim the discovery of the source of the Mississippi before me, for I was the first that saw and examined its shores.

Signed,

Yours,

WM. MORRISON.

SKETCH OF JOSEPH RENVILLE, A "BOIS BRULE" AND EARLY TRADER OF MINNESOTA.

The opening of the fur trade of the Northwest, under the patronage of Louis the Fourteenth, tended to bring into existence, a peculiar race of men, called "coureurs des

bois." Many of the wild and adventurous spirits of sunny France, tired of the "ancient regime," tempted by the dangers incident to the employment of collecting furs, and the freedom from all restraint, hastened in frail birch canoes down rapids, and over lakes to the haunts of the bison and beaver. The unbridled zeal of the trader has ever made him the pioneer of the ecclesiastic.

Previous to the year 1695, the canoe laden with trinkets, tobacco and knives, had entered the Minnesota, or "sky-tinted" river, and in 1700, trading houses were erected on the banks of the Mankato or Blue Earth, and on an island near the St. Croix; and about that time, the enterprising Perrot had built a fort at the entrance of Lake Pepin. The father of him whom we purpose to sketch, was, in all probability, born before some of the first explorers of this Territory had entered "that bourne from whence no traveler returns."

As age began to stiffen the joints of the once supple voyageur, he naturally felt the want of some resting place, and companion, to cheer him in his declining years. Estranged from early associations, he did not hesitate to conform to the customs of the cinnamon colored race, and purchase a wife to hoe his corn, to mend his moccasins, to tend the lodge-fire, and to cook the game which he would bring home at night. The offspring of this alliance have become a numerous and interesting class in America, and have often exercised more sway in Indian affairs than chiefs.

Joseph Renville was of mixed descent, and his history forms a link between the past and the present history of Minnesota. His father was a French trader of much reputation. His mother was a Dakota, connected with some of the principal men of the Kaposia band. He was born below the town of St. Paul,* about the year 1779, during the war of the American Revolution. At that time, there were probably not more than six white families residing in the whole of that vast territory that now comprises Northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota.

Accustomed to see no European countenance but that of his father, in sports, habits and feelings, he was a full Dakota youth. As often happens, his mother deserted her husband, and went to live with one of her own blood. The father noticing the activity of his son's mind, took him to Canada before he was ten years of age, and placed him under the tuition of a priest of Rome. His instructor appears to have been both a kind and good man, and from him he received a slight knowledge of the French language, and the elements of the Christian religion. Before he attained to manhood, he was brought back to the Dakota land, and was called to mourn the death of his father.

At that time, there was a British officer by the name of Dickson, who lived in what is now Minnesota, and was in the employ of an English Fur Company. Knowing that young Renville was energetic, he employed him as a "courier des bois." While a mere stripling, he had guided his canoe from the Falls of Pokegama to the Falls of St. Anthony, and followed the trails from Mendota to the Missouri. He knew by heart the legends of Winona, and Ampato Sapawin, and Hogan-wanke-kin. He had distinguished himself as a brave, and also become identified with the Dakotas more fully by following in the footsteps of his father and purchasing a wife of that nation.

In 1797, he wintered, in company with a Mr. Perlier, near Sauk Rapids. The late General Pike was introduced to him at Prairie du Chien, and was conducted by him to the Falls of St. Anthony. This officer was pleased with him, and recommended him for

*The Kaposia band then lived on the East bank of the river.

the post of U. S. Interpreter. In a letter to General Wilkinson, written at Mendota, Sept. 9, 1805, he says: "I beg leave to recommend for that appointment, a Mr. Joseph Renville, who has served as interpreter for the Sioux last spring at the Illinois, and who has gratuitously and willingly served as my interpreter in all my conferences with the Sioux. He is a man respected by the Indians, and I believe an honest one."

At the breaking out of the last war with Great Britain, Col. Dickson was employed by that government to hire the warlike tribes of the North-West to fight against the United States. Renville received from him the appointment and rank of Captain in the British Army, and with warriors from the Wabasha, Kaposia and other bands of Dakotas, marched to the American frontier. In 1813, he was present at the siege of Fort Meigs. One afternoon, while he was seated with Wabasha and the renowned Petit Corbeau, the grandfather of the present chief of the Kaposia band, an Indian presented himself and told the chiefs that they were wanted by the head men of the other nations that were there congregated. When they arrived at the rendezvous, they were surprised to find that the Winnebagoes had taken an American captive, and after roasting him, had apportioned his body in as many dishes as there were nations, and had invited them to participate in the feast. Both the chiefs and Renville were indignant at this inhumanity, and Col. Dickson being informed of the fact, the Winnebago who was the author of the outrage was turned out of the camp.

In 1815, he accompanied the Kaposia chief to Drummond Island, who had been invited by the commandant of that post, to make him a visit. On their arrival, they were informed by the officer, that he had sent for them to thank them in the name of his Majesty for the aid they had rendered during the war. He concluded by pointing to a large pile of goods, which he said were presents from Great Britain. Petit Corbeau replied, that his people had been prevailed upon by the British to make war upon the people they scarcely knew, and who had never done them any harm. "Now," continued the brave Kaposia chief, "after we have fought for you, under many hardships, lost some of our people, and awakened the vengeance of our neighbors, you make peace for yourselves, and leave us to get such terms as we can; but no, we will not take them.—We hold them and yourselves in equal contempt."

For a short period after the war, the subject of this memoir resided in Canada, and received the half pay of a British captain. He next entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, or North West Company, whose posts extended to the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers. In winter, he resided with his family among the Dakotas; in summer, he visited his trading posts, which extended as far as the sources of the Red river.

In 1819, was commenced the erection of the Fort at the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota. From this time, Renville became more acquainted with the people of the United States, and some of his posts being within the limits of the Republic, and there being great commotion in the Hudson's Bay Company, he with several other experienced trappers, established a new company in 1822, which they called the Columbia Fur Company. Of this new organization he was the presiding genius. When Major Long arrived at Fort St. Anthony, as Snelling was then called, in the year 1823, he became acquainted with Renville, and engaged him as the interpreter of the expedition to explore the Minnesota and Red River of the North. The historian of the expedition, Professor Keating, gave to the world one of the most interesting accounts of the Dakota nation that has ever been published, and he states that for most of the information he is indebted to the subject of this sketch.

Shortly after the Columbia Fur Company commenced its operations, the American Fur Company of New York, of which John Jacob Astor was one of the Directors, not wishing any rivals in the trade, purchased their posts, and good will, and retained the "coureurs des bois." Under this new arrangement, Renville removed to Lac-qui-Parlo and erected a trading house, and here he resided until the end of his days.

Living as he had done for more than a half century among the Dakotas, over whom he exercised the most unbounded control, it is not surprising that in his advanced age he sometimes exhibited a domineering disposition. As long as Minnesota exists, he should be known as one given to hospitality. He invariably showed himself to be a friend to the Indian, the traveler and the missionary. Aware of the improvidence of his mother's race, he used his influence towards the raising of grain. He was instrumental in having the first seed corn planted on the Upper Minnesota. An Indian never left his house hungry, and they delighted to do him honor. He was a friend to the traveler. His conversation was intelligent, and he constantly communicated facts that were worthy of record. His post obtained a reputation among explorers, and their last day's journey to it was generally a quick march, for they felt sure of a warm welcome. His son was the interpreter of Nicollet, that worthy man of science who explored this country in connection with Fremont. This gentleman, in his report to Congress pays the following tribute to the father and son :

"I may stop a while to say, that the residence of the Renville family, for a number of years back, has afforded the only retreat to travelers to be found between St. Peters and the British posts, a distance of 700 miles. The liberal and untiring hospitality dispensed by this respectable family, the great influence exercised by it over the Indians of this country in the maintenance of peace and the protection of travelers, would demand, besides our gratitude, some especial acknowledgement of the United States, and also from the Hudson's Bay Company."

The only traveler that has ever given any testimony opposed to this, is Featherstonhaugh, a dyspeptic and growling Englishman, whose book, published in London in 1847, and styled a "Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor," betrays a filthy imagination. He remarks :

"On reaching the Fort, Renville advanced and saluted me, but not cordially. He was a dark, Indian looking person, showing no white blood, short in his stature, with strong features and coarse black hair. * * * I learnt that Renville entertained a company of stont Indians to the number of fifty, in a skin lodge behind his house, of extraordinary dimensions, whom he calls his braves, or soldiers. To these men he confided various trusts, and occasionally sent them to distant points to transact his business. No doubt he was a very intriguing person and uncertain in his attachments. Those who knew him intimately, supposed him inclined to the British allegiance, although he professes great attachment to the American Government, a circumstance, however, which did not prevent him from being under the surveillance of the garrison at Fort Snelling."

He was also a friend to the Missionary of the Cross. Until the year 1834, no minister of the Church, made arrangements to devote his life to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Dakotas.

In the years 1687 and 1689, Father Marest and another Jesuit made excursions among them, and one of them told the historian, Charlevoix, that he regretted he did not succeed in establishing a mission. He described them as docile, gentle and intelli-

gent. A very few years after, the opinion of Marest was entirely changed. In a letter dated Nov. 11, 1712, while he was a missionary among the *Kaskaskias*, he says:—
 "We found a canoe of the *Scioux*, broken in some places, * * * * We were greatly alarmed. * * * * These *Scioux* are the most cruel of all the *Indians*, and we should have been lost had we fallen into their hands." During the French dominion, ecclesiastics never had permanent missions except in the vicinity of fortified trading posts.

The Rev. T. S. Williamson, of the Presbytery of Chillicothe, arrived at Fort Snelling in 1834; then returned to the East, and in 1835 came back with assistant missionaries. Renville warmly welcomed him, and rendered him invaluable assistance in the establishment of the missions. Upon the arrival of the missionaries at Lac-qui-Parle, he provided them with a temporary home. He acted as interpreter, he assisted in translating the Scriptures, and removed many of the prejudices of the *Indians* against the teachers of the white man's religion. His name appears in connection with several *Dakota* books. Dr. Watts' second Catechism for children, published in Boston in 1837, by Crocker & Brewster, was partly translated by him.

In 1839, a volume of extracts from the Old Testament, and a volume containing the Gospel of Mark, was published by Kendell & Henry, Cincinnati, the translation of which was given orally by Mr. Renville, and penned by Dr. Williamson. Crocker & Brewster in 1842, published *Dakota Dowaupi Kin*, or *Dakota Hymns*, many of which were composed by the subject of this sketch. The following tribute to his ability as a translator, appeared in the *Missionary Herald* of 1846, published at Boston:

"Mr. Renville was a remarkable man, and he was remarkable for the energy with which he pursued such objects as he deemed of primary importance. His power of observing and remembering facts, and also words expressive of simple ideas was extraordinary. Though in his latter years he could read a little, yet in translating he seldom took a book in his hand, choosing to depend on hearing rather than sight, and I have often had occasion to observe, that after hearing a long and unfamiliar verse read from the Scriptures, he would immediately render it from the French into *Dakota*, two languages extremely unlike in their idioms and idea of the words, and repeat it over two or three words at a time, so as to give full opportunity to write it down. He also had a remarkable tact in discovering the aim of a speaker, and conveying the intended impression, when many of the ideas and words were such as had nothing corresponding to them in the minds and language of the addressed. These qualities fitted him for an interpreter, and it was generally admitted he had no equal."

It would be improper to conclude this article without some remarks upon the religious character of Renville. Years before there was a clergyman in Minnesota, he took his Indian wife to *Prairie du Chien* and was married in accordance with Christian rites by a minister of the Roman Church. Before he became acquainted with missionaries, he sent for a large folio Bible in the French language, and requested those connected with him in the fur trade to procure for him a clerk who could read it.* After the commencement

*This Bible was probably the first Bible in Minnesota, and in itself valuable for its antiquity. It was printed at Geneva, in 1588, and had a Latin preface by John Calvin, the great Reformer.

The writer, in 1853, requested Dr. Williamson, of the *Dakota Mission*, to procure this same copy for the Historical Society. At his solicitation, one of the sons of the late Mr. Renville, brought it to the Mission House at Lac-qui-Parle, to be forwarded to St. Paul. Before an opportunity occurred, the Mission House, with all of its contents, was consumed by fire.

of the Mission at Lac-qui-Parle, his wife was the first full Dakota that joined the Church of Christ, of whom we have any record. She was also the first Dakota that died in the Christian faith. Before she had ever seen a teacher of the religion of Christ, through the instruction of her husband, she had renounced the gods of the Dakotas. The following is an extract from a translation of Mr. Renville's account of his wife's death :— " Now, to-day, you seem very much exhausted, and she said ' yes ; this day, now God invites me. I am remembering Jesus Christ who suffered for me, and depending on him alone. To-day I shall stand before God, and will ask him for mercy for you and all my children, and all my kinsfolk.' "

Afterwards, when all her children and relatives sat round her weeping, she said " it is holy day, sing and pray." From very early in the morning, she was speaking of God, and telling her husband what to do. Thus she died " when the clock struck two."

Like Nicodemus, one of the rulers of Israel, he loved to inquire in relation to spiritual things. Of independent mind, he claimed and exercised the right of private judgment in matters of faith.

In 1841, he was chosen and ordained a ruling Elder, and from that time, till his death, discharged the duties of his office in a manner acceptable and profitable both to the native members of the Church and the mission.

After a sickness of some days, in March, 1846, his strong frame began to give evidence of speedy decay. He was aware he was soon to take " his chamber in the silent halls of death," but he knew " in whom he had believed," and went,

" Not like the quarry-slave, at night
Scourged to his dungeon ; but sustained and soothed,
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams ! "

Dr. Williamson thus narrates the death-scene : " The evening before his decease, he asked me what became of the soul immediately after death? I reminded him of our Saviour's words to the thief on the cross, and Paul's desire to depart and be with Christ. He said, ' That is sufficient,' and presently added, ' I have great hope I shall be saved through grace.' Next morning (Sunday) about eight o'clock, I was called to see him. He was so evidently in the agonies of death, I did not think of attempting to do anything for him. After some time, his breathing becoming easier, he was asked if he wished to hear a hymn. He replied, ' Yes.' After it was sung he said, ' It is very good.' As he reclined on the bed, I saw a sweet serenity settling on his countenance, and I thought that his severest struggle was probably past, and so it proved. The clock striking ten, he looked at it and intimated that it was time for us to go to church. As we were about to leave, he extended his withered hand. After we left, he spoke some words of exhortation to his family, then prayed, and before noon calmly and quietly yielded up his spirit."

Sixty-seven years passed by, before he closed his eyes upon the world. The citizens of Kentucky delight in the memory of Daniel Boone ; let the citizens of Minnesota not forget Joseph Renville, though he was a " bois brule."

His descendants are still living among the Dakotas. The son who bore his name, died on Feb. 8th, 1856, in the neighborhood of the mission at Payutazee. The Rev. S. R. Riggs in a communication to the St. Paul Daily Times, remarks :

" The deceased was about forty-seven years of age, a son of Joseph Renville, who died

at Lac-qui-Parle some years since, and whose memory is identified with the past history of Minnesota. Inheriting from his father many noble and generous qualities, unfortunately for himself and family, the habits of the Indian trade in which the deceased was educated, were not such as enabled him to gain a comfortable livelihood by labor.— After the death of his father, he removed with his family to the Mississippi, and resided for some time at Kaposia, with Little Crow's band, many of whom were his mother's relatives. Soon after the cession of this Minnesota country to the United States, he with a younger brother and cousin of the same family name, removed up to the neighborhood of Fort Ridgley. When they attended the payment at Yellow Medicine, he was already far gone in the disease which has just terminated his earthly career. Here, in the house of a younger brother, and with other relations, he with his family found a temporary home and a place to die. Through the kindness of friends and neighbors, they have not wanted. It has been pleasant to see that former kindnesses received from the family when his father was a prince in wealth among them, have not been entirely forgotten by the Dakotas, but have been returned now to the son in his sickness."

CHAPTER XIV.

FORT SNELLING.

PREVIOUS to the organization of the Territory of Minnesota, in 1849, this Fort was the only place of note beyond Prairie du Chien. For years it had been the point at which the missionary of the Cross, the man of science, the adventurous trader made preparations for their journeys among the villages of the wandering Dakotas.

Beautifully located on an elevated bluff, at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi, its massive walls make a strong impression on the mind of the traveler. Within its enclosure have been quartered some of the most efficient officers of the United States Army, who have received with hospitality, the various scientific expeditions that have from time to time passed through the country.

Its history and associations are full of interest and worthy of record in the Annals of Minnesota. On the island in front of the Fort, Pike encamped, and entered into negotiations for the site of the present Fort, as the extracts from his journal, published in a previous chapter show.

In 1817, Major Long, in a report to the War Department, recommended the site for a permanent Fort. In 1819, three hundred men of the Sixth regiment, under the command of Colonel Leavenworth, left Detroit, for the purpose of commanding the Fort. They came by the way of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. At this point a detachment was left, and the remainder ascended the Mississippi. On the 17th of September, they established a cantonment, on the South side of the Minnesota, at the present ferry.

In the "Pioneer Women of the West," a book written by Mrs. Ellett, life at the cantonment is described in the sketch of Mrs. Clark, the wife of the first Commissary of the Fort.

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PORT SCARLETT

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It appears that Mrs. Clark accompanied her husband, the Commissary, on his journey up the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Minnesota. It is stated that—

"Several persons went with them from Prairie du Chien; the voyage being made in keel boats, and the waters so low that the men were obliged frequently to wade in the river and draw them through the sand. Six weeks were occupied in passing over the distance of three hundred miles, one week of which was spent at Lake Pepin.

"Having reached the place of destination, the company were obliged to live in their boats till pickets could be erected for their protection against the Indians. * * *

"Huts had also to be built, though in the rudest manner, to serve as a shelter during the winter, from the rigors of a severe climate. After living with her family in the boat for a month, it was a highly appreciated luxury for Mrs. Clark to find herself at home in a log hut, plastered with clay, and chinked for her reception. It was December before they got into winter quarters, and the fierce winds of that exposed region, with terrific storms now and then, were enough to make them keep within doors as much as possible. Once in a violent tempest, the roof of their dwelling was raised by the wind, and partially slid off; there was no protection for the inmates, but the baby in the cradle was pushed under the bed for safety. Notwithstanding these discomforts and perils, the inconveniences they had to encounter, and their isolated situation, the little party of emigrants were not without the social enjoyments, they were nearly all young married persons, cheerful, and fond of gaiety, and had their dancing assemblages once a fortnight. An instance of the kindness of the Commanding officer, Col. Leavenworth, deserves mention. One of the officers having been attacked with symptoms of scurvy, and great alarm prevailing on that account, the Colonel took a sleigh, and accompanied by a few friends, set off on a journey through the country inhabited by Indians, not knowing what dangers he might encounter from their hostility, or the perils of the way, for the purpose of procuring medicinal roots. The party was absent several days, and in the meantime collected a supply of hembreck (?) and spignet, (spikenard,) which they used with excellent effect in curing the disease.

FIRST WHITE WOMAN AT THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY.

"In the ensuing summer (of 1820), when Col. Snelling had the command, Fort Snelling was begun. St. Louis, distant nine hundred miles, was at that time the nearest town of any importance. After the erection of the Fort, Mrs. Clark says:—"We made the first clearing at the Falls of St. Anthony, and built a grist mill." The wife of Capt. George Gooding, of the 5th Regiment, was the *first white woman* who ever visited those beautiful Falls. She afterwards married Col. Johnson, and went to reside at St. Louis.

FIRST COURTSHIP IN MINNESOTA AMONG THE WHITE INHABITANTS.

"Mrs. Clark remained at Fort Snelling, with the exception of about a year, until 1827. The only young lady in the company was married when about fifteen years of age, to a Mr. Dennis, also of the army. The wedding took place in the winter, and the bridal party was obliged to descend the river three hundred miles, on the ice, to Prairie du Chien, to have the ceremony performed. The monotony of their life was varied by continual alarms and excitements, from the encounters of the hostile tribes of Sioux and Chippewas, who came frequently into their close neighborhood, and were not scrupulous as to deeds of violence and treachery towards each other."

INCIDENTS IN 1820.

In the spring of this year, the troops were moved from the South side of the Minne-

sota to a spot near the present St. Louis Hotel, which was designated as "Camp Coldwater."

In July, 1820, General Cass and Mr. Schoolcraft, on their way from Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi to Prairie du Chien, visited the post. They were pleased with the fertility of the soil, and learned that green peas had been raised and eaten by the fifteenth of June. Two block-houses, on the site of the present Fort, were erected about this time.

During the summer, Leavenworth was relieved, and Colonel Snelling assumed the command. By order from Washington, he demanded of the Sisseton Dakotas the murderers of certain whites, on the Missouri.

INTERESTING SCENE.

One day in November, contrary to his expectation, one of the murderers and an old chief, a substitute for his son, were voluntarily brought to the encampment. The delivery was accompanied with much ceremony. A procession was formed at some distance from the garrison, and marched to the centre of the parade. It was preceded by a Sisseton, bearing the British flag. The murderer and the chief, who offered himself as an atonement for his son, followed with their arms pinioned, and large splinters of wood thrust through them above the elbows, to indicate, as it was thought, their contempt of pain and death. The relatives and friends followed, and on their way joined them in the death dirge. When they arrived in front of the guard, the British flag was laid on a fire, prepared for the occasion, and consumed. The murderer then gave up his medal, and both of the prisoners were surrendered.

The Indian Agent, in a communication to the Department, on Nov. 10, 1820, says: "The old chief I have detained as a hostage, the murderer I have sent to St. Louis for trial, presuming that it is a course you will approve.

"I am much indebted to Mr. Colin Campbell, the interpreter, for his great exertions in bringing this affair to a happy issue. The delivery of the murderer is to be attributed solely to his influence over the Sussitongs."

From the wife of Colonel Snelling, Mrs. Ellett obtained some facts illustrative of this period, which are published in the "Pioneer Women of the West."

"In the following summer of 1820, Snelling was promoted Colonel of the 5th Regiment, and ordered up the Mississippi, to relieve Lieut. Colonel Leavenworth, who was also promoted to another Regiment. He had conducted the 5th Regiment from Detroit to within eight miles of the Falls of St. Anthony. The journey was exceedingly tedious and disagreeable, in a keel boat laboriously propelled by men with long poles placed against their shoulders, along a gangway on each side of the boat. The weather was very warm, and mosquitoes numerous day and night. The cabin was very low, confined and uncomfortable. It was three weeks or more before they arrived at Prairie du Chien, during which time very little sound sleep was obtained by the young mother, from fear of the Indians, the Sac and Fox, the most savage looking and ferocious she had ever seen. They seemed to be very fond of dress, and their faces were painted of all colors; the hair cut close to within an inch of the top of the head, and that decorated with a variety of ribbons and feathers, and often a small looking-glass suspended from the neck. Many of them were certainly great beaux, but they looked hideous, and were terrific objects to a timid woman.

"When the voyageurs arrived at Prairie du Chien, they found Gov. Cass and his

party; he held councils with the Indians for the purpose of bringing about a peace between the Sac and Fox tribes, Chippewas and Sioux. Our friends were detained there several weeks by a court-martial, of which Col. Snelling was President. They had still three hundred miles to go before they reached the encampment of the 5th Regiment, and there were several Indian villages on the route. The magnificent scenery of this river has been often described. Lake Pepin is a beautiful expansion about twenty-four miles in length, and from two to four broad. At length they arrived safe through many fatigues to the end of their journey, and received a hearty welcome from friends they had never seen before, and from Capt. Gooding and his wife, whom they were again delighted to meet. Their daughter had been married a few days previous to the Adjutant of the regiment.

Great solicitude was felt to have a temporary garrison erected with such defences as could be then made, before the long and severe winter set in. The traders brought news that the Indians were very insolent, and it was said a white man had been killed on the St. Peter's river. A council was called and the murderers were demanded, hostages being taken from the council until they were delivered. They were confined in the guard room, and narrowly watched. All felt that the little community was exposed and almost at the mercy of an enemy, and great exertions were made to complete the temporary barracks for the winter, with blockhouses and other defences. Indians meanwhile were collecting in great numbers, and would sometimes show themselves at a distance. The traders in the vicinity often came in, and raid the friendly Indians had gone in pursuit of the murderers and no doubt would succeed in taking them; but if they did not, the friends of the hostages would attempt to rescue them. Scouts were accordingly kept out every night, and the troops slept on their arms. For the mother--trembling for her little ones more than herself, no sooner would she close her eyes at night, than she would start, thinking she heard the war whoop of the savages. The wolves too, half-starved, were extremely daring, and if the cook happened to leave a bucket of swill at the back door, they were sure to empty it of its contents.

"As soon as the log barracks were finished, the families moved into them. They were built in four rows, forming a square, a block-house on either side. The Indian hostages were now put in greater security. They were evidently becoming impatient of restraint, and perhaps had doubts as to the result. One morning, as usual, they were taken a short distance into the woods under guard, when suddenly one of them (there were three) started and ran for his life. Those behind set up a yell and the guard fired at him, but he was beyond reach. The others were immediately taken back to the guard house, and an interpreter sent for, who enquired of them if it was a preconcerted plan of the whole; they declared it was not, and that until the fugitive started to run, they were ignorant of his design, and supposed it merely a sudden desire for freedom. They said further, that he would no doubt urge the immediate surrender of the guilty parties, and laughingly said the lad was so fat, from being so well fed, they were surprised to see him run so fast!

"Col. Snelling and the Indian agent thought it advisable to send the murderers to the agent at St. Louis, as soon as they should be brought in, and before navigation closed. At length they came, conducted by a large number of their own tribe. There were two, but only one was sent to St. Louis, as there was but one white man killed. It was represented to the Indians in council, that when one white man killed another, his

life paid the penalty; and since one of their people had killed a white man his life must pay the forfeit, unless their great father in Washington should pardon him. The savages signified assent by a "ugh!" As soon as the criminal was gone, quiet was restored among the Indians for the winter.

"In September, Mrs. Snelling's fifth child was born. Her sick room was papered, and carpeted with buffalo robes, and made quite warm and comfortable. There were three ladies beside her in the garrison, and they were like one family, spending their time instructing their children, and receiving instruction in the French language from a soldier, who, it was said, had been an officer in Bonaparte's army. Mrs. Snelling, Mrs. Clark and an officer, comprised the class. During the winter, parties of men were sent off to cut down trees, hew timber, &c., for the permanent fort, which was to be built on the high point of land between the mouth of the St. Peter's and Mississippi, a point selected by Gen. Pike, when he explored the river, as a good site for a fort, and on which Col. Snelling at once decided it should be built. There was a tree standing at the extreme point, with the name of Pike carved on it by his own hand. Strict orders were given "to spare that tree," for it was looked upon by the officers as sacred to his memory and was carefully guarded, but the care was in vain. One morning it was found cut down, and great was the lamentation. It never was known who had done the deed; there was a mystery about it that was never solved.

"The first row of barracks that were put up, were of hewn logs, the others of stone. The fort was built in a diamond shape, to suit the ground at the extreme point. Where the tree had stood, was a half-moon battery, and inside this was the officers' quarters, a very neat stone building, the front of cut stone; at the opposite point a tower. The fort was enclosed by a high stone wall, and is well represented in the drawings of it.

DEATH OF THE FIRST WHITE CHILD.

"At the expiration of two years, the Regiment moved into the fort, although not completed. The families of the officers occupied quarters in the row assigned to them. It was just before this time that Mrs. Snelling lost her youngest child—thirteen months old.

The grave stone that marks its earthly remains is still in existence in the grave-yard at the Fort.

ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST STEAMBOAT.

In June, 1823, the first steamboat made its appearance at the fort, much to the astonishment of the savages, who placed their hands over their mouths—their usual way of expressing astonishment, and called it a "fire-boat." A salute was fired from the Fort, as it was expected that the Inspector General was on board; and it was returned from the boat. The Indians knew not what to make of it, and they were greatly alarmed, until all was explained. Additions were made to the society of the garrison; several officers, who had been absent, returned to their regiment, bringing wives and sisters, so that at one time the company numbered ten ladies. There were six companies, which fully officered, would have given eighteen or twenty officers, but there were seldom or never that number present at one time.

BELTRAMI.

An Italian gentleman came on the boat, who professed to be travelling for the purpose of writing a book, and brought letters of introduction from Mrs. Snelling's friends

in St. Louis. The Colonel invited him to his house to remain as long as he pleased and he was with them several months. He could not speak English, but spoke French fluently, and seemed much pleased when he found his fair hostess could speak the language, she having learned it when a child at St. Louis. A French school was the first she ever attended, and she thus early acquired a perfectly correct pronunciation. She lamented on one occasion to Mr. Beltrami, that her teacher had received his discharge, and was about leaving, and he politely offered his services in that capacity. She was then translating the life of Caesar in an abridged form, and from the emotion betrayed by the foreigner at a portion of the reading, it was concluded he had been banished from the Pope's dominions at Rome, and that the lesson reminded him of his misfortunes. The passport he showed, gave him the title of "Le Chevalier Count Beltrami."

"About this time, Major Long's expedition arrived to explore the St. Peter's river, and when they left Beltrami accompanied them. When his book was published at New Orleans, he sent Mrs. Snelling a copy. When at the fort he was busy in collecting Indian curiosities. One day he brought a Sioux chief into Mrs. Snelling's room, who had on his neck a necklace of bears' claws highly polished, saying, 'I cannot tempt this chief to part with his necklace, pray see what you can do with him, he will not refuse you.' 'He wears it,' answered the lady, 'as a trophy of his powers, and a badge of honor; however, I will try.' After some time, Wanata said, 'On one condition I will consent: if you will cut off your hair, braid it, and let it take the place of mine you may have the necklace.' All laughed heartily at the contrivance to get rid of further importunity.

CONTINUATION OF REMINISCENCES OF THE WIFE OF COLONEL SNELLING.

One day a call was heard from a sentinel on the river bank, to the corporal of the guard, that a child had fallen into the river, and several ran in the direction the sentinel pointed. The gardner, who was at work at a short distance, cried out, "It is the Colonel's son, Henry! Save him!" His mother heard the cry, "A child is drowning!" and ran out upon the battery to see and hear what was the matter. She saw them draw the boy out, place him on a blanket, and hasten up the hill; they approached her house, when the Colonel hastened towards her saying, "we came near losing our child!" and she saw it was indeed her own. He was pale as death, but soon recovered, and lives to tell the story of an immense catfish dragging him into the river while fishing.

MURDER OF A RED RIVER FAMILY.

"In 1823, news was brought by the traders that two white children were with a party of Sioux, on the St. Peter's. It appeared from what they could learn, that a family from Red River—Selkirk's settlement—had been on their way to the fort, when a war party of Sioux met them, murdered the parents and an infant, and made the boys prisoners. Col. Snelling sent an officer with a party of soldiers to rescue the children. After some delay in the ransom, they were finally brought. An old squaw, who had the youngest, was very unwilling to give him up, and indeed the child did not wish to leave her. The oldest, about eight years old, said his name was John Tully, and his brother, five years old, Abraham. His mother had an infant, but he saw the Indians dash its brains out against a tree, then killed his father and mother. Because he cried

he took him by his hair, and cut a small piece from his head, which was a running sore when he was re-taken. Col. Snelling took John into his family, Major Clark the other, but he was afterwards sent to an orphan asylum in New York. The eldest died of lockjaw, occasioned, by a cut in the ankle while using an axe. His death-bed conversation was affecting and remarkable. One day, after he had been ill several weeks, he said, 'Mrs. Snelling, I have been a very wicked boy; I once tried to poison my father because he said he would whip me. I stole a ring from you, which you valued much, and sold it to a soldier, and then I told you a lie about it. I have given you a great deal of trouble. I have been very wicked. I am going to die the day after to-morrow, and don't know where I shall go. Oh, pray for me.'

"His benefactress" answered, 'John, God will forgive you, if you repent; but you must pray, too, for yourself. God is more willing to hear than we are to pray. Christ died to save just such a sinner as you are, and you must call upon that Saviour to save you.' All his sins appeared to rise before him as he confessed them, and he seemed to feel that he was too great a sinner to hope for pardon. Mrs. Snelling read to him, and instructed him. He never had received any religious instruction, except in the Sunday school taught by Mrs. Clark and herself, and being accustomed to say his prayers with her children, and always be present when she read the church service on Sundays. The next morning after the above conversation, when she asked him how he had rested during the night, he said, 'I prayed very often in the night; I shall die to-morrow, and I know not what shall become of me.' For several hours he remained tranquil, with his eyes closed, but would answer whenever spoken to; then suddenly he exclaimed, 'Glory! glory!' His friend said, 'John, what do you mean by that word?' 'Oh! Mrs. Snelling, I feel so good—I feel so good! Oh! I cannot tell you how good I feel!'

PRESENT NAME OF THE FORT GIVEN BY GENERAL SCOTT—1824.

"During this year, the commandant was visited by Gen. Scott and suit, and the Fort was completed. Heretofore it had been called Fort St. Anthony, but Gen. Scott issued an order giving it the name of Fort Snelling. He expressed his approbation of the construction and site of the Fort, etc., spent a week with his friends, and visited the Falls and a chain of lakes where they were used to amuse themselves fishing, and where the water was so clear they could see the fish playing about the hook. One of the Lakes Mrs. Snelling named Scott Lake.

"Another of her amusements was riding on horseback. When a child she had been accustomed to ride every morning with her father, and acquired great confidence in the management of a horse. Her husband seldom would ride with her, but Capt. Martin Scott was in the regiment, and often accompanied her. One day they saw a wolf, the dogs gave chase, and they followed until they ran down the poor creature, the bonnet of the fair huntress having fallen back, and her hair streaming loose in the wind.

FAMILY DETAINED BY ICE AT LAKE PEPIN.

"In 1825, the family left Fort Snelling to visit their friends in Detroit. It was late in the season, October, before they set out homeward, by the way of Green Bay, where Mrs. Snelling's brother, Lieut. Wellington Hunt, was stationed. They spent a week in his family, and when they reached Lake Pepin, the ice was running so rapidly they

were compelled to stop; the ice had cut through the cabin so that it leaked. A small log cabin was put up, and an express sent to the Fort, one hundred miles, for sleighs to convey them thither, and provisions, as they had nothing but corn, which they boiled in ash water with a little salt. Fears were entertained by Col. Snelling that the express might not reach the Fort, and another was sent a week after. One day, after two weeks, there was a sound of sleigh bells, and Henry, who was the first to hear, ran to meet them, and soon returned with two loaves of bread, which he threw into his mother's lap, crying "eat, mother, eat." The children ate bread as if famished, and even the little Marion, but eight months old, partook of the general joy. They had seen no Indians, who had gone to their winter grounds. Some of the officers came to meet the Colonel's family, and they were soon on the move again. They were welcomed back joyfully by all their friends, and many of their favorite Indians came to see them. One poor savage, who always furnished them with game, came leaning on his staff, looking pale and emaciated; he was very sick, he said, and came to see them once more before he died. He could scarcely crawl back to his lodge, and the next day expired.

OJIBWAYS KILLED AT FORT SNELLING.

"At this time, a party of the Chippewas and Sioux held a council with the Indian agent. There had been war between the two nations for a long time; the agent desired to act as mediator between them, and sent for them to meet him. After the council, the two parties smoked the pipe of peace. The Chippewas killed a dog, made a feast, and invited the Sioux to their lodges, which were under the guns of the Fort. In the evening, about nine o'clock, the firing of guns was heard; the sentinel called "corporal of the guard," repeatedly, in quick succession. The wild cries of women and children were heard, for the Chippewas had their families with them, and several Indians came rushing into the hall of the commanding officer, trying to tell what was the matter. The officer of the day reported that the Sioux, after partaking of the hospitalities of the Chippewas, and being apparently good friends, had some of them returned, placed their guns under the wigwams, and fired, killing some and wounding others. The wounded were conveyed into the hospital to have their wounds dressed. Other particulars of this occurrence, with the determination of the Chippewas to have vengeance, the action of the commanding officer, and the surrender and punishment of the perpetrators of the deed, are related in another memoir. The traders said the Sioux were perfectly satisfied, much more so than if the offenders had been imprisoned and sent to St. Louis.

"In 1826, Capt. Thomas Hunt, who was residing at Washington, wrote to his sister, urging her and the Colonel to send their two eldest children to him to be educated. Their daughter Mary was now fourteen, and as Captain Plympton and his wife were going, her parents got her in readiness to accompany them. Her mother thought not it would cost so many tears to part with her child; but when she returned home from the boat she told Mrs. Clark 'it seemed like a death in the family.' Soon an opportunity offered, and they sent Henry also.

"In 1827, the Indians began to show signs of hostility near Prairie du Chien; they murdered two white men and a young girl, the daughter of one of them, and attacked two boats with supplies for Fort Snelling, killing and wounding several of the crew.

Col. Snelling ordered out as many of his command as could be spared from the Fort, and with his officers descended the river to the relief of Fort Crawford, or to attack any hostile force of Indians he might meet. There were two large villages of Indians between the two Forts, and it was expected, when they approached, they would be attacked, but there was not an Indian to be seen. When they reached Prairie du Chien, they ascertained that the outrage had been committed by Winnebagoes, and not Sioux. When Gen. Atkinson heard this at St. Louis, he sent and seized the Chief, Red Bird, and one or two others, who were tried, convicted, and executed. After an absence of six weeks, the party returned without being obliged to fire a gun.

"One day soon after his return, the Colonel came in to tell his wife the express had brought them a mail, holding in his hand a letter sealed with black. She exclaimed 'My Mary is dead.' 'No,' said her husband, 'the letter is from Detroit.' It brought the intelligence of her much loved brother Henry's death. He was much loved and respected by all who knew him; was Mayor of the city and Colonel of the militia, and his funeral was the largest ever known in Michigan. After the massacre at Frenchtown, by the Indians, in 1813, he had spent a great deal of money in ransoming prisoners, many of whom still affectionately cherish his memory. He had proved a father to his sister and family, and was mourned by them deeply and long.

"In the fall of 1827, the Regiment was ordered to Jefferson Barracks. When the family arrived at St. Louis, they took lodgings for the winter. Colonel Snelling having obtained leave to go to Washington to settle some public accounts and to bring home his daughter. He wrote to her mother in glowing terms of her improvement in person and mind, and that she received much attention for one of her age, not yet sixteen. 'As Mary will not again,' he concluded, 'have so good an opportunity, I have encouraged her to accept invitations to the different soirees; she has had cards for the season from all.' Mary wrote, 'I have attended many parties, but I do not enjoy them, for my dear mother is not with me, and I am so impatient to embrace her.' Alas! the All Wise Disposer of events had ordered it otherwise. One more letter her mother received from her, and hoped before many weeks to see her, but at the time she was expecting her arrival, a letter was written to her sister, Mrs. Soulard, that Mary was dead!

"Col. Snelling wrote afterwards, that on the 2nd of February she had been at Mrs. Clay's party and danced, and had taken cold while standing to wait for the carriage; the cold terminated in a brain fever. Mrs. Adams, the wife of the President, showed great interest in the young stranger, as did many others, and every attention was paid her that could be desired; but there was no solace for the deep wound in the mother's heart. She had felt a presentiment that she should never more see her daughter, and was in some measure prepared for the stroke which almost crushed her; she was enabled to look with faith to Him from whose hand it came, to feel that He was too wise to err—too good to afflict willingly, and to bow in humble submission to the most painful dispensation of His Providence. Her husband wrote that he should be obliged to remain still longer in Washington; it would improve her health to travel, and she must join him without delay. In May, she left St. Louis with her three children and nurse, found her husband and son well, the latter much grown, and received a cordial welcome from her brother and sister-in-law.

"Her cup of affliction was not yet full; in two months her husband was seized with inflammation of the brain and died in three weeks. In communicating the sad event to the army, the General-in-Chief thought it but an act of justice to make a public acknowledgment of his services."

ECCLIASTICAL REMINISCENCES OF FORT SNELLING—FIRST CHURCH IN MINNESOTA.

Before any clergyman entered Minnesota, a Major in the Army, with an experience and zeal in some respects akin to that of the distinguished British officer, Colonel Gardiner, was ordered to Fort Snelling. Though a rigid disciplinarian, he at times invited soldiers and officers to his quarters, and read sermons and essays from a paper called the New York Evangelist, in their presence.

In May, 1835, the Rev. T. S. Williamson, M. D., arrived at the Fort with assistants, for the purpose of commencing the first Missionary operations among the Dakotas. At the request of those at the garrison, and in the vicinity, a church was formed.

On one Sabbath in June, miles from the sound of the church going bell, there convened in one of the company rooms of the Fort, some twenty whites, consisting of military officers, Indian missionaries, and those engaged in Indian trade. Their names being called, in the presence of the assembled soldiers, the company stood up, entered into church covenant, and elected Elders, who were set apart, in accordance with the solemn ordination service of the Presbyterian branch of the church.

After the close of the afternoon sermon, the Rev. Dr. Williamson administered the communion.

The church continued to worship at intervals in the Fort, till December, 1849, when it was divided, for the convenience of the members, into the church of Kaposia, there being a mission station at the Indian village of that name, and the church of Oak Grove. The Rev. Gideon H. Pond was elected the Pastor of the latter, and still continues.

Among the original members, was a young Lieutenant, who was one of the first to prepare a vocabulary of the Dakota language. His decease has lately occurred, and from a New York paper, we extract the following:

SKETCH OF MAJOR OGDEN.

Major Edmund A. Ogden, of the United States Army, who recently died of cholera at Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, was born at Catskill, N. Y., Feb. 20th, 1810. Soon after, he removed to Unadilla, N. Y. where he remained until he entered the United States Military Academy. On graduating, he was attached as Brevet Second Lieutenant to the First Regiment of Infantry, then stationed at Prairie du Chien. He was subsequently appointed a First Lieutenant in the Eighth Infantry, where he served until appointed a Captain in the Quartermaster's Department, in which corps he remained until his death. He served with credit and distinction through the Black Hawk, Florida, and Mexican wars, and was created a Major by brevet, for meritorious conduct, in the last named of these wars.

His services ever faithfully performed, have been arduous and responsible. He has disbursed for the Government millions of the public money; he has labored hard, and always to the purpose, and after giving to his country five and twenty years of hard and useful service, he has died poor.

For the last six years previous to last spring, Major Ogden was stationed at Fort

Leavenworth, where he has rendered important service to the army in his capacity of Quartermaster. From this post he was ordered to California, and he removed with his family to New York with the expectation of embarking on the 20th of April last, when his orders were suddenly suspended, and he was sent back to assist in outfitting the expedition against the Sioux Indians. He was afterwards charged with the arduous duty of erecting, within three months, barracks, quarters and stables for a Regiment of troops at Fort Riley—a point about 150 miles west of Leavenworth, and which he had himself selected as a suitable place for a government post, when stationed at Fort Leavenworth. This place was not settled, and was an almost perfect wilderness. He took with him about five hundred mechanics and laborers, with tools and provisions, and commenced his labors. In a new and unsettled country, so destitute of resources, many obstacles were encountered, but just as they were being overcome, and the buildings were progressing, cholera in its most fatal and frightful form made its appearance among the men, from two to four of them dying every day. Far removed from homes and kindred, and accustomed to depend on Major Ogden for the supply of their daily wants, they turned to him in despair for relief from the pestilence. He labored among them night and day, nursing the sick and offering consolation to the dying. At last the heavy hand of death was laid upon him, and worn out with care, watching and untiring labors, he fell a victim to the disease whose ravages he had in vain attempted to stay.

In the death of this officer the army has lost one who was an ornament to its list; his own corps has lost one of its most efficient members—one whom they appreciated, and whom they delighted to praise. Among his associates in the army there is but one sentiment—that of regret for his loss and admiration for his professional and private character, and love for his estimable qualities. His associates in the army are not the only sufferers; but many in various parts of the land have lost a warm and true friend, and the country has lost an honest man and a christian soldier.

Major Ogden's christian character was remarkable; he was a meek and child-like follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, and daily sought strength and wisdom from above. He made a public profession of his faith soon after his graduation at the Military Academy, and united with a missionary church at Fort Snelling. He was an active christian, and delighted "to do good as he had an opportunity." In the missionary church with which he united, and which was at that time but just established at St. Peters, he took an active part and became one of its elders. In a letter to a christian friend, written but four days before his death, he thus writes: "Even at Fort Riley we are not without that marked evidence of advancing civilization—a recognized Sabbath. Last Sunday we had Episcopal service in the morning, conducted by the Chaplain and Methodist preaching under the trees in the afternoon. We shall start our prayer meetings, and a Sabbath school is already arranged.

In the hour of death, far from all he most loved on earth, he was cheered by his christian hope. His faith was unshaken and enduring, and proved capable of supporting him in that last sad hour. Although weak and exhausted, he said to his friend the chaplain, who was by his side, "Tell my dear wife and children to try and meet me in heaven," and then sank sweetly and quietly to rest.

So died the christian soldier, in the vigor of manhood, and at the post of duty. Bound as he was by so many tender ties to this earth, not a murmur escaped his lips; but he met his summons with a cheerful resignation to that Providence whose dealings he had recognized through life, and in whom he trusted in death.

The great loss, which all who knew Major Ogden feel that they have suffered by his death, is as nothing when compared with that of his wife and children. The latter are so young that it is probable they never can fully realize the extent of their affliction. God grant that it may be sanctified to their eternal good.

It is interesting to note the evidences of the estimation in which Major Ogden was held at Fort Riley by the residents and the men in his employ. The following is an extract from the *Kansas Herald* of the 10th.

"The death of Major Ogden left a deep gloom upon the spirits of all the men, which time does not obliterate. His tender solicitude for the spiritual and bodily welfare of those under him; his unceasing labors with the sick, and his forgetfulness of self in his tendance upon others, until he was laid low, have endeared his memory to every one there. And, as a token of affection, they are now engaged in erecting a fine monument which shall mark their appreciation of the departed. The monument, which will be of the native stone of the locality, is to be placed on one of the high promontories at Fort Riley, and can be seen from many a distant point by those approaching the place. It will bear the following inscription:

"ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF
BREVET MAJOR E. A. OGDEN,

THE FOUNDER OF FORT RILEY:

A DISINTERESTED PATRIOT AND A GENEROUS FRIEND; A REFINED
GENTLEMAN; A DEVOTED HUSBAND AND FATHER, AND AN
EXEMPLARY CHRISTIAN.

CHAPTER XV.

REMINISCENCES OF FORT SNELLING—CONTINUED.

A number of years ago, an article appeared in the public prints, that seemed to have been written by one who had been a trader among the Indians of Minnesota, perhaps Mr. Snelling. The style is graphic and humorous, and at the same time it contains an arrative of facts to which allusion has been made in the previous chapter. It is introduced here with the caption

BORDER LIFE IN MINNESOTA.

Perhaps some of our readers may have seen Carver or Schoolcraft's Travels. If they have, it may be that they know, albeit neither of the books is worth a brass pin as authority, that the Chippewa and Dakota tribes have waged war against each other so long that the origin of their hostility is beyond the ken of man. General Pike persuaded them to make peace in 1805, but it lasted only till his back was turned. The agents for the Government have brought about several treaties between the tribes, in

which forgiveness and friendship for the future, were solemnly promised. Indian hereditary hate is stronger than Indian faith, and these bargains were always violated as soon as opportunity occurred. Nevertheless, our Executive gave orders, in 182- that a general congress of all the belligerent tribes on the frontier should be held at Prairie du Chien. They flocked to the treaty ground from all quarters, to see the sovereignty or majesty (we know not which is the better word) of the United States, ably represented by Governors Cass and Clark, who acted as Commissioners.

The policy of the United States on this occasion was founded on an error. It supposed that the quarrels of the Indians were occasioned by a dispute concerning the boundaries of their respective territories. Never was a treaty followed by more unhappy results, at least as far as it concerned the Dakotas.

They concurred in the arrangement of their boundaries proposed by the Commissioners, as they do in every measure proposed by an American officer, thinking that compulsion would otherwise be used. But they were not satisfied, nor had they reason to be, for their ancient limits were grievously abridged. All the Indians present had, or imagined they had, another cause of complaint. They had been supplied with food, while the congress lasted, by the United States, as was the reasonable practice, for they cannot hunt and make treaties at one and the same time. Dysentery supervened on the change of diet. Some died on the ground, and a great many perished on the way from Prairie du Chien to their hunting grounds. Always suspicious of the whites, they supposed that their food had been poisoned; the arguments of their traders could not convince them of the contrary, and hundreds will die in that belief.

Moreover, they did not receive such presents as the British agents had been wont to bestow on them, and they complained that such stinginess was beneath the dignity of a great people, and that it also showed a manifest disregard of their necessities. They were especially indignant at being stinted in whiskey. It behoved the commissioners, indeed, to avoid the appearance of effecting any measure by bribery, but the barbarians did not view the matter in that light. To show them that the liquor was not withheld on account of its value, two barrels were brought upon the ground. Each dusky countenance was instantly illuminated with joy at the agreeable prospect, but they were to learn that there is sometimes a "slip between the cup and the lip." Each lower jaw dropped at least six inches when one of the Commissioners staved in the heads of the casks with an axe. "It was a great pity," said old Wakhpakootay, speaking of the occurrence, "it was a great pity! There was enough to have kept me drunk all the days of my life." Wakhpakootay's only feelings were grief and astonishment, but most of his fellows thought that this making a promise to the eye in order to break it to the sense was a grievous insult, and so they continue to regard it to this day.

The next year, a small party of Chippewas came to St. Peters, (about which there are four Dakota villages,) on pretence of business with "their father," the agent, but in reality to beg ammunition, clothing, and, above all, strong drink. The Dakotas soon gathered about the place with frowns on their faces and guns in their hands. Nevertheless, three of the Chippewas ventured to visit the Columbian Fur Company's trading house, two miles from the Fort. While there, they became aware of their danger, and desired two of the white men attached to the establishment to accompany them back, thinking that their presence might be some protection. They were in error. As they

passed a little cove, three Dakotas sprung from behind a log with the speed of light, fired their pieces into the face of the foremost, and then fled. The guns must have been double loaded, for the man's head was literally blown from his shoulders, and his white companions were spattered with his brains and blood. The survivors gained the Fort without further molestation. Their comrade was buried on the spot where he fell. A staff was set up on his grave, which became a landmark, and received the name of The Murder Pole. The murderers boasted of their achievement and with impunity. They and their tribe thought that they had struck a fair blow on their ancient enemies, in a becoming manner. It was only said, that Toopunkah Zeze of the village of the *Batture aux Fieures*, and two others, had each acquired a right to wear skunk skins on their heels and war-eagles' feathers on their heads.

A winter passed, and the murdered man was not revenged. In the spring, we had another striking proof of Indian regard to treaty stipulations, and Indian love for American citizens; and also of the wisdom of the Government that had expected to bind them with strips of paper or parchment. Every one knows that in the Western country French people make maple sugar in the spring. M. Methode, chose to set up his sugar camp at the mouth of Yellow river, two miles from Prairie du Chien. His wife, one of the most beautiful women we ever saw, accompanied him with her five children. Beside these, the wolves and the trees were his only companions. A week elapsed, and he had not been seen at the Prairie. One of his friends, thinking that he might have been taken ill, and was unable to come for his supplies, resolved to visit his camp.

On reaching the mouth of Yellow river the man shouted aloud, that Methode or his dog might answer, and thereby indicate in what exact spot in the woods his cabin stood. No answer was returned. After searching upwards of an hour, and calling till he was hoarse, he fell upon a little path which soon brought him to the ruins of a hut that appeared to have been recently burned. All was as still as it might have been at the birth of time. Concluding that Methode had burned his camp and gone higher up the river, the honest Canadian turned homeward. He had not gone ten steps when he saw something that made him quicken his pace. It was the body of Methode's dog. The animal had been shot with half a score of balls, and yet held in his dead jaws a mouthful of scarlet cloth, which, apparently, he had torn from the calf of an Indian's leg. The man ran at full speed to the bank of the river, threw himself into his canoe, and paddled with all his might till he was out of gun shot from the shore.

Having made what he had seen public, a party was soon assembled, all good men and true, and well armed. They soon gained the spot, and began to explore the ruins of the hut. The bodies of the whole family were there, and it was evident that accidental fire had not occasioned their death. They were shockingly mangled. Madame Methode in particular. Her husband's hand grasped a bloody knife, from which it was inferred that he had not fallen unavenged. Yet the stains might have come from his own person.

When the coroner's inquest sat, it appeared that a party of Winnebagoes had been out, notwithstanding the treaty, against the Chippewas, and had returned unsuccessful. Fifteen of them had been seen near the Yellow river two days after Methode's departure from the Prairie. It was ascertained that two Winnebagoes had been buried that night. The white party returned to the village; and, the next day, an Indian boy of fourteen admitted that he had seen Methode's camp while hunting, and had communicated his discovery to his companions. To make assurance doubly sure, Wamandoo-

gara-Ha, an Indian of very bad reputation, made his appearance in the village in a pair of red leggins, one of which had been torn behind. He came to tell the agent, Mr. Boilevin, how much he loved the Americans, and that he strongly suspected the Sacs of the murder that had been committed. He demanded a blanket and a bottle of whiskey as a reward for his zealous friendship. Mr. Boilevin caused the friendly Winnebago to be arrested, and examined him closely. Then the murderer called up his Indian spirit, confessed his guilt, and implicated several others.

A party of militia forthwith started for the nearest Wicabago camp. We are able to state (and we love to be correct in important particulars) that the captain wore neither plume nor sash, nor any thing else that might have made him conspicuous; that the men did not march in the style most approved on Boston common; that they beat no drum before them; and that none of them had ever seen a sham fight. No; each marched on "his own hook," each carried a good rifle or Northwest gun, and each kept his person as much out of sight as possible. The consequence was, that the Indian camp was surprised and completely surrounded, and the savages saw that their best, and, indeed, only course, was to surrender quietly. However, the whites found only one of those they sought in the camp, and took him away with them. The celebrated chief Descorrie followed them.

"Father," said he to Mr. Boilevin, "you know that there are foolish young men among every people. Those who have done this thing, were foolish young men, over whom I and the other wise men have no control. Besides, when they went to Yellow river, they had just drank the last of a keg which you gave them yourself. It was the whiskey, and not they, that killed Methode and abused his wife. Father, I think you should excuse their folly this time, and they will never do the like again. Father, their families are very poor, and if you will give them clothing and something to eat, you may be sure that they will never kill another white man.

"I shall give them nothing," said the agent, "and still be sure that they will never kill another man. They will assuredly be hanged."

"Your heart is very hard father," replied Descorrie. "Your heart is very hard, but I cannot think that it will be as you say. You know that if you take our young men's lives, we cannot prevent others from avenging them. Our warriors have always taken two lives for one. Our Great Father (the President) is not so hard-hearted as you are. Our young men have killed a great many of your people, and he has always forgiven them."

At that time, Prairie du Chien had no great reason to boast of her administration of justice. A soldier, indeed, had been scourged at the public whipping post, a man of ninety had been fined for lewdness, an Indian had been kicked out of a wheat-field on which he was trampling, and the magistracy prided themselves not a little on these energetic acts of duty. A jail there was, but it was of wood, and stood so far from the village, that a prisoner might carve the logs at noon-day without much danger of detection. Scandal says, that the jailor of it used to bolt the door of it with a boiled carrot. Into this stronghold the criminals were put at night—the place did not own a set of fetters—and in the morning they were missing. Had they been left to their own devices, there is little doubt that they would have remained to brave their fate, but it is thought that some white man advised them what their exact legal responsibilities were, and advised them to escape.

Col. Willoughby Morgan commanded the military at Prairie du Chien. He immediately caused two Winnebago chiefs to be seized, and informed the tribe that they would not be liberated till the murderers were delivered up. They were soon brought in, and as the civil authority had proved unable to keep them, they were committed to the garrison guard-house. Shortly after the garrison was broken up by the order of the Secretary of War, and the troops were removed St. Peters, two hundred miles farther up. There was no appearance of the district judge to try the prisoners, and they were therefore transferred to St. Peters, there to await his coming.

They had long to wait; so long, indeed, that they grew excessively obese and phlegmatic. In the following autumn, another party of Chippewas came to St. Peter's, and as they remembered what had happened the year before, they took care to arrive just at day-break, and proceeded directly to the fort. There were twenty-four persons in the band, eight of whom were warriors; the rest were women and children. The chief was Kweeweezaishish, or the Flat Mouth, the great man of the Sandy Lake Chippewas. He led his little troop straight to the fort, where he unfurled and planted an American flag, and then demanded an interview with the agent and commanding officer.

The Dakotas soon learned what was passing, and by the time the gates were opened a considerable number of them had assembled to gaze upon the enemy. Presently the officers came forth, and desired the visitors to enter. "Be not angry, father," replied the Flat Mouth, "but I would rather say something here, before I enter your wigwam or eat your bread. I desire that these Nahtooessies (enemies) should hear it."

The Colonel sent for the Chippewa interpreter, and when he had come desired the chief to say on.

"Father," said the chief, "you know that more than a year since, we made peace with your Nahtooessie children, because you desired us. We have kept the peace and listened to your advice, as we always do, for our American fathers are wise men, and advise us for our good. These men know whether they have done so or not. I speak with a sick heart. We are but few here, and these men will not keep the peace with us. We ask you to protect us, as we would protect you, if you should come into our country."

The Colonel replied that he could have no concern with the quarrels of the Dakotas and Chippewas. If they fought anywhere else, he could not help it; but while they remained under his flag they should not be molested, provided they did not molest others. He bade them pitch their lodges on a spot within musket shot of the walls, and there, he said and thought, they would be safe. He would make their cause his own if any harm should come to them *there*. This speech being expounded to the Dakotas, they all exclaimed "Hacheel hacheel hachetool!"—that is it! that is right!

The Flat Mouth then entered the Fort and partook of American hospitality. He then explained the object of his visit. It was the old story, repeated the thousandth time. They were very poor; they had left their friends at home with heavy hearts, and hoped that their father would give them something to make them glad. In short, the endless catalogue of Indian wants was summed by a humble petition for a little of their father's milk (whisky) "to make them cry" for certain friends they had lost. This shameless beggary should not be taken as proof of want of spirit. The main point in their political code is equality of property; he that has two shirts thinks it a duty to give one to him who has none. He who has none thinks it no shame to ask

one of him who has two. The effect of this system is, that they are always in want of every thing, and the application of their own principle of action to their white neighbors makes their company excessively troublesome. It is true that they are willing to reciprocate, as far as lies in their power, but then they never have any thing to give.

On the occasion in question, our Chippewa friends got, if not all they asked, yet more than they had expected. Then, after having entered the garrison with the Buffalo dance, they left the Fort, and set up their lodges as they had been directed.

In the the afternoon Toopunkah Zeze arrived from the *Batture aux Fievers*, with seven of his own band and one other. They went directly to the Chippewa camp and entered the largest lodge, where it happened that there were just nine persons. The young Dakota above named held in his hand a pipe, the stem of which was gaily ornamented with porcupine's quills and hair stained red. The Chippewas spread skins for his party, shook hands with them, invited them courteously to be seated. They also directed the women instantly to prepare a feast of venison, corn, and maple sugar, all of which articles were mixed together and placed before the Dakotas in brimming bowls. When the entertainment was over, Toopunkah Zeze filled the peace-pipe he had brought and passed it round. None rejected it, and all might, therefore, consider themselves pledged to peace, if not to love. The conversation then became general and amicable. The Chippewa women coquetted with the Dakota youths, who seemed in no wise to consider them as enemies.

No Dakota is suffered to wear a war eagle's feather in his hair till he has killed his man. Toopunkah Zeze wore one for the Chippewa he had so treacherously slain the year before, as we have already related. One of the fair Chippewas noticed it. "You are young to wear that," said she.

"I shall wear another before I am much older," he replied.

Certainly after so much friendly intercourse and so many demonstrations of good will, no one could have suspected any sinister purpose. The Chippewas, too, might have relied on their proximity to the Fort. But, "the heart of man is desperately wicked." The Dakotas had shook hands and smoked the pipe of peace with their former foes, had eaten of their fat and drank of their *strong*. At last, at sunset, they took their guns and rose to depart. The eight foremost halted outside the door, while the last held it aside with his foot, and all discharged their guns into the lodge, excepting one, whose piece missed fire. The assassins gave the Indian *cri de joi*, and fled like deer.

The guns were heard in the Fort, and the news soon reached the commanding officer, who immediately ordered an officer to proceed to the nearest village with an hundred men, and apprehend as many Dakotas as possibly he could. No time was to be lost, for the night was fast coming up the horizon. The Chippewas who were not hurt, joined the party. Circumstances proved favorable to the enterprise; just as the party left the gate, upwards of a hundred armed Dakotas appeared on a low ridge near the Fort. Captain — divided his force, and dispatched one party round a small wood to take the enemy in the rear, while he advanced upon them in front. The Dakotas kept their ground firmly. Some covered themselves with the scattered scrub oak trees, others laid down in the long grass. Guns were already cocked when the detached party appeared in their rear. Then the Indians gave way. Most escaped, but thirty

were taken and speedily conveyed to the Fort, where accommodations were provided for them in the guard-house and the black-hole. The Chippewas, too, removed their lodges into the Fort, and the wounded were carried to the hospital.

Eight balls had been fired into the Chippewa lodge, and every one took effect. The wounds were the most ghastly that we ever saw made by bullets. The party had been lying, or reclining, on their mats; for there is no standing in a Chippewa lodge. Consequently the balls passed through their limbs diagonally tearing and cutting more than it is usual for pieces of lead to do, though as ragged as chowing can make them. One woman was killed outright, one man was mortally, and another severely wounded, the latter being shot through both ankle joints and crippled forever. All the rest were women and children, and more or less severely wounded.

There was weeping and wailing in the Chippewa lodges that night. The noisy lamentations of the women broke the rest of the whole garrison; but no one desired them to be silent, for the rudest soldier there respected the sincerity of their sorrow. Never were Indian knives driven deeper into squaws' flesh in token of grief than on that occasion. The practice of mortifying the body, on the death of friends, seems to be, and to have been common to all rude people. The Jews clothed themselves in sack-cloth and threw ashes on their heads; Achilles refused to wash his face till the funeral rites had been performed over the body of Patroclus. Now, the male Chippewas, blackened their faces, indeed, but they did not gash their arms. A soldier who spoke their language asked of them why they did not conform to the ancient usage of their nation. "Perhaps we shall have use for our guns to-morrow," replied the Little Soldier. We must loose no blood, though our hearts bleed, for we must be able to see straight over our gun barrels."

The Little Soldier was right in his surmise and precaution. At early day dawn the commanding officer visited the wounded Chippewas, and asked them if they could recognize any of their aggressors, in case they should appear before them. They replied eagerly in the affirmative. He then asked them why they had not been more on their guard. "We respected your flag," replied the mortally wounded man, "and thought that our enemies would do the same." The Colonel then asked whether they had given the Dakotas no provocation. "None," said the Chippewa, "but we endured much." He presented the peace-pipe which the Dakotas had brought with them, and said that the hair with which it was ornamented had belonged to a Chippewa head. We know not how he made the discovery, but it is well known to all who have lived on the frontier, that an Indian, on seeing a scalp, can tell, with unerring certainty, to what tribe it belongs.

The wounded men were then, with their own joyful consent, placed on litters and borne to the guard-house. The Dakota prisoners were paraded before them and they identified two of the number, as having belonged to the band of assassins.

"I deliver them into your hands," said the Colonel to the Chippewa warriors. "They have deserved death, and you may inflict it, or not, as you think proper. If you do not, they must be tried by the laws which govern us Americans. I have no power to put them to death. You may let them go, if you please; I wash my hands of the matter." This speech was interpreted faithfully to the Chippewas, but none of them answered. Instead of speaking, they examined the flints and priming of their guns. The Little Soldier drew from beneath his robe a few fathoms of cord, cut from an elk skin, and

presently secured the two criminals, fastening them together by the elbows. It was observed that he drew his knots rather tighter than it was absolutely necessary; but no one blamed him. The Dakotas were then led forth. As soon as they passed the gate, the Chippewas halted and cocked their guns, for their vengeance was growing impatient.

"You must not shoot them under our walls," said one of the officers.

"I hope you do not expect us to take them very far," replied a Chippewa.

The procession then moved on. One of the Dakotas struck up the death song. The other attempted it, but did not succeed; his voice sunk into a quaver of consternation. The Chippewas led them to a rising ground, about two furlongs from the Fort, there halted, and bade them run for their lives. They were not slow to obey the mandate, and their executioners gave them thirty yards law. At that distance, six guns were discharged at them, and they fell dead. Instantly the prairie rang with the Chippewa *cri de joie*, and the executioners rushed towards the corpses, with their knives bared, yelling like fiends. Twice and thrice did each plunge his weapon into the bodies of the prostrate foes, and then wipe their blades on their face or blanket. One or two displayed a ferocity which those only who saw, can entirely realize. They drew their reeking knives through their lips, and exclaimed, with a smack, that they had never tasted any thing so good. An enemy's blood was better than even fire water. The whole party then spat upon the body of him who had feared his fate, and spurned it with their feet. They had not tasted *his* blood. It would, they said, have made their hearts weak. To him who had sung his death song, they offered no indignity. On the contrary, they covered him with a new blanket. They then returned to the Fort.

The Colonel met them at the gate. He had prevented all over whom his authority extended from witnessing the scene just described, and had done his best to make the execution the exclusive business of the Chippewas. He now told them that the bodies of the slain must not be suffered to remain upon his land, where the spectacle might grieve the Dakotas who were innocent of their crime. The party retired, and proceeded to the slaughter ground. They took the dead Dakotas by the heels, trailed them over the earth to the bluff, and there threw them over a perpendicular precipice a hundred and fifty feet high. The bodies splashed and sunk, and nothing more was ever seen or heard of them.

Among the Dakotas detained in the guard-house was an old man named, Khoya-pe, or the Eagle's Head. We knew him well—he once cheated us out of a considerable amount of merchandize; but it was in the way of trade, all fair, according to Indian ethics, and we bear him no malice. He had not slept during the night, but had tramped up and down the floor, deeply agitated, to the extreme disturbance of the soldiers. One of those who were put to death, was his nephew. When this young man was designated by the wounded Chippewas as one of the assassins, and led forth to suffer death, his tears flowed; and when he heard the report of the guns which ended him, his emotion became uncontrollable. He immediately sent for the commanding officer.

"Father," said he, "the band of the *Batture* and *Fievers* are bad people. They are always getting themselves into trouble, and others are always sure to suffer with them. It was foolish to shoot the Chippewa last year, but they did it, and perhaps one of my grand-children will be scalped for it. What they have just done was a folly. They per-

sueded my nephew to join them, and he is dead. Let them take the consequences of their own act themselves, this time. I know where I can find two more of them, and if you will let me out I will bring them to you, and you may put them to death, as they deserve, or spare them—as you please. If you slay them, I shall be glad; if you let them go, I shall be sorry. They ought not to be suffered to bring the whole nation into disgrace and trouble."

"If the Colonel lets him out, I wonder when we shall see him again?" said one of the guard to another.

The Colonel knew the Dakota character better. "How long will it be before you return with the man-slayers?" said he to Khoya-pa.

"By sunset to-morrow night," replied the Eagle Head, "I will be before your gate, and if I come alone, you may give my body to the Chippewas."

The sun was high in the heavens when the Eagle Head departed, with his gun in his hand and his knife and tomahawk in his belt. It is sixty miles from St. Peter's to the Batture aux Fievres, and he arrived there early the next morning, having slept an hour or two in the woods near the village. He went straight to the lodge of Sagandoshee, or the Englishman, for so was the father of Toopunkah Zeze named. The family were already awake, and the murderer was relating his exploit with great glee when Khoya-pa entered.

"You have acted like a dog," said the old man to Toopunkah Zeze. "So have you," he added, turning to the other assassin. "Some one must die for what you have done, and it will be better that your lives be taken, than that others should die for your folly. There are no worse men than yourselves in our nation. I tell you, you must die. Rise and go with me, like men, or I will kill you like dogs where you sit."

So saying, the old man cocked his gun and drew his tomahawk from his belt. The women began to scream and scold; the Englishman's brow grew dark, but no opposition was offered. Perhaps the men were afraid to harm the Eagle Head, for though he was not recognized as a chief, his sons and sons-in-law were many, and his influence was considerable. Any one who should have harmed him would have certainly suffered for it. Besides, his reputation as an upright and valiant man was high; he was tall and erect, and age had not withered his muscles and sinews. Whatever motives might have restrained the families of the criminals from opposing the aged warrior, Toopunkah Zeze showed no disposition to disobey him. He rose with the utmost alacrity, handed the Eagle Head a rope, and tendered his arms to be tied. When he was secured he requested his father to thrust sharp oaken splinters through the muscular parts of his arms, that the Americans might see that he cared not for pain. The Englishman—his father—complied, without uttering a syllable!

The other criminal was pale, trembled, and seemed wholly stupefied by terror. However, he submitted passively to be tied. "Now," said the Eagle Head, "start—walk before me, and that briskly, for you must die at the American Fort before sunset, and it is a long distance."

Just before sunset that day, the Colonel and another officer were standing at the gate of the Fort. "It is late," said the latter, "and our old friend does not show himself yet. I do not think he will. He would certainly be a fool to come back to what he thinks certain danger; for he had nothing to do with the murder."

"If I had kept him," replied the commanding officer, "no good could have come of it. He was innocent, and could not have been convicted, supposing that any of our courts may be competent to try him. I believed that he would keep his word, and bring the real criminals, and I have no doubt about the propriety of the course I shall adopt with them. I trust the Eagle Head yet; and by heaven, he deserves to be trusted! Look!—there he comes, driving the two black sheep before him."

Indeed, the old man and his prisoners came in sight at that moment. They soon arrived at the gate. "Here they are, father," said the Eagle Head. "Take them, and kill them, and if that is not enough for the safety of my people, take my life, too, I throw away my body freely."

The white chief told Khoya-pa that he was at liberty from that moment, and made him a liberal present, after which the old man withdrew. A hasty council was then held with the Chippewas, to whom the victims were tendered, as the two first had been.

By this time a considerable number of the Dakotas had assembled about the prisoners. "You must die now," said one man. "The white chief has given you to the enemy."

"I know it," replied Toopunkah Zeze, "and I am ready. I shall fall like a man. Bear witness of it. Here, Falling Leaf, take my blanket—I shall have no use for it. Take my ear-rings, Gray Woman."

He sat down upon the ground, and, with the aid of others, divested himself of his ornaments and apparel, which he distributed to those who stood nighest. His dauntless mein and handsome person made the whites, who looked on, sorry for him. He was in the bloom of youth, not above twenty at most, six feet high, and formed after Nature's best model. Stain the Belvidere Apollo with walnut juice, and it will be an exact likeness of Toopunkah Zeze. He refused to part with the two eagle's feathers. One of them he had not yet worn two days, he said, and he would not part with them. The Chippewas would see that a warrior was about to die.

The companion of Toopunkah Zeze followed his example in giving away his clothing, quite mechanically, it seemed. It was evident, though he did not speak, that he was not equal to the circumstances in which he was placed. He was a villainous looking fellow; such a man, indeed, as a despotic sovereign would hang for his countenance. He had the most hideous hare lip that we ever saw, and was thence called by the Dakotas, The Split Upper Lip. He was known to most of the white men present as a notorious thief, a character very uncommon among Indian men, though not among Indian women.

The Chippewa chief, Flat Mouth, thus addressed the commanding officer:—

"Father, we have lost one life, and it is certain that one more will die of his wounds. We have already taken life for life, and it is all that our customs require. Father, do not think that I do not love our people whose blood has been shed. I would fain kill every one of the Nahtoossie tribe to revenge them, but a wise man should be prudent in his revenge. Father, we Sandy Lake Chippewas are a small, a very small band, and we are ill armed. If we provoke the Nahtoossies too far, they will come to our country in a body, and we are not able to resist them. Father, I am a very little, weak chief (The varlet spoke falsely, for he was the biggest and most corpulent Indian we ever saw) Father, we have already had life for life, and I am satisfied.

Upstarted the Little Soldier; fire in his eye. He was properly named, being a very little man, almost a dwarf. Yet he was thick set, active and muscular, and his spirit was great. Little as he was, he enjoyed the repute of being the bravest and most successful warrior of Sandy Lake. He it was, whose brother had been slain the year before at the Murder Pole.

"Our father with the Flat Mouth, says that he is satisfied," said the Little Soldier. "So am not I. We have had life for life, as he says, but I am *not* satisfied. This man, (pointing to Toopunkah Zeze,) shot my brother last year, and the sun has not yet set twice since he shot my wife also. This other aided him. They deserve to die, and they shall die. Hoh!" he added to the prisoners, signifying that they must march.

Toopunkah Zeze sprang to his feet and began to sing his death song. It was something like the following, many times repeated:—

I must die, I must die,
But willingly I fall.
They can take from me but one life;
But I have taken two from them. }
Two for one, two for one, two for one, &c.

The Split Lip was wholly unable to imitate his brave companion. He burst into tears, and piteously implored the commanding officer to spare his life. He did not deserve to die, he said, for he was not guilty. He had killed no one—his gun had missed fire."

Here Toopunkah Zeze ceased singing, and indignantly interrupted him. "You lie, dog. Coward, old woman, you know that you lie. You know that you are as guilty as I am. Hold your peace, and die like a man—die like me." Then, turning his face away with an expression of exceeding contempt, he recommenced—

Two for one, two for one --

and strode forward, dragging the Split Lip after him.

Arriving at the place of execution, the Chippewas gave them law, and fired. The Split Lip was shot dead on the spot. Toopunkah Zeze was also, stricken through the body, but did not fall. One bullet had cut the rope which bound him to his companion, and he instantly started forward with as good speed as if he had been wholly unhurt. A shout of joy arose from a neighboring copse, where a few Dakotas had hidden themselves to witness the spectacle. Their joy was of short duration. The Little Soldier's gun had missed fire, but he picked his flint and leveled again. Toopunkah Zeze had gotten a hundred and fifty yards from his foes, when the second bullet struck and killed him instantly.

After this catastrophe, all the Dakotas quitted the vicinity of Fort Snelling, and did not return to it for some months. It was said that they formed a conspiracy, to demand a council, and kill the Indian Agent and the commanding officer. If this was fact, they had no opportunity, or wanted the spirit, to execute their purpose.

The Flat Mouth's band lingered in the Fort till their wounded comrade died. He was sensible of his condition, and bore his pains with great fortitude. When he felt his end approach, he desired that his horse might be gaily caparisoned, and brought to the Hospital window, so that he might touch the animal. He then took from his medicine bag a large cake of maple sugar and held it forth. It may seem strange, but it

is true, that the beast eat it from his hand. His features were radiant with delight as he fell back on the pillow exhausted. His horse had eaten the sugar, he said, and he was sure of a favorable reception, and comfortable quarters in the other world. Half an hour after, he breathed his last. We tried to discover the details of his superstition, but could not succeed. It is a subject on which Indians unwillingly discourse.

For a short time after the execution of Toopunkah Zeze and his accomplices, the Indian country remained quiet. The Dakotas avoided all intercourse with the whites. They were angry at the death of their fellows, indeed, and spoke of vengeance among themselves; but they either were convinced of the justice of what had been done, or knew the superior force of the whites too well to think of taking any active measures. However, they resolved to make cats' paws of the Winnebagoes, who were, and are, of much more decided character than themselves. The tribe, as their traditions say, were driven from Mexico by the companions of Cortez, or their successors. The tradition is probably correct in point of fact; for they state that they resisted all attempts to expel them from their native land, till the white invaders hunted them with dogs of uncommon size and ferocity; probably, these were the bloodhounds since employed to subdue the Maroons in Jamaica. The Dakotas have a similar tradition. Be that as it may, the Winnebagoes retained an inveterate antipathy to the Mexican Spaniards, till very lately. They have now transferred it to the people of the United States. Some old men among them still remember the excursions they were wont to make in their youth to the borders of Mexico, whence they brought horses, captives, &c. These people have more courage and more national character than any tribe of the North-west. Drunkenness is not so common among them as among other tribes, and they are not so fond of mixing blood with the whites. There are very few Winnebago half-breeds. A good many of them joined the confederacy of Tecumseh, and sixty of their best and bravest warriors were killed at Tippecanoe.

Several years since, when the fifth United States regiment of infantry ascended the Mississippi, they halted at Prairie du Chien, where they were visited by a great many Winnebagoes. An aged warrior accosted Captain Gooding, as he landed on the beach, and offered him his hand. "I think," said the Winnebago, "that I could tell what ails your neck, that you should have such a great scar upon it." "Probably you could," replied the captain, "you may have reason to know that there is a Winnebago bullet in my flesh." "Aye," returned the savage, "and I could tell you who put it in. But you are a brave man, and we are all friends now." Apparently the old man considered this reminiscence an excellent jest, for he laughed heartily.

No tribe consider revenge a more sacred duty than do the Winnebagoes. It was their ancient custom to take five lives for one, and it is notorious on the frontiers, that no blood of theirs has been shed, even in modern days, that has not been fully avenged. They used, too, to wear some part of the body of a slain enemy about them as a testimonial of prowess. We well remember a grim Winnebago, who was wont to present himself before the whites, who passed the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, with a human hand hanging on his breast. He had taken it from a Yankee soldier at Tippecanoe.

It was not difficult to stir up such a people to hostility, and, moreover, circumstances favored the design of the Dakotas.

There is, or was, a village of Winnebagoes on the Black river, not far from the Da-

kota town of which Wabashaw is chief. The two tribes are descended from the same stock, as their languages abundantly prove, and the claims of common origin have been strengthened by frequent intermarriages. Now, it happened that, at the time when Toopunkah Zeze was put to death at Fort Snelling, the Red Bird was absent from his Winnebago village, on an expedition against the Chippewas. He returned unsuccessful, and consequently, sullen and malcontent. Till this time, he had been noted among his tribe for his friendly disposition towards the "men with hats," as Indians call the whites, and among the traders, for his scrupulous honesty. However, this man, from whom no white person beyond the frontier would have anticipated injury, was easily induced to commit a bloody and unprovoked outrage.

Certain Dakota Ambassadors arrived at the Red Bird's village, with a lie in their mouths. "You have become a bye-word of reproach among us," said they. "You have just given the Chippewas reason to laugh at you, and the Big Knives also laugh at you. Lo ! while they were among you, they dared not offend you, but now they have caused Wamandoo-garra-Ha and his companion to be put to death, and they have cut their bodies into pieces not bigger than the spots in a bead garter." The tale was believed, and a cry for vengeance arose throughout the village. It was decided that something must be done, and the Dakota envoys promised to lend a helping hand.

A few days before, two keel boats had ascended the river, laden with provisions for the troops at Fort Snelling. They passed the mouth of Black river with a full sheet, so that a few Winnebagoes, who were there encamped, had some difficulty in reaching them with their canoes. They might have taken both boats, for there were but three firelocks on board ; nevertheless, they offered no injury. They sold fish and venison to the boatmen, on amicable terms, and suffered them to pursue their journey unmolested. We mention this trifling circumstance, merely because it was afterwards reported in the St. Louis papers, that the crews of the boats had abused these Winnebagoes shamefully, which assuredly was not the case. The wind died away before the boats reached the village of Wabashaw, which is situated on the West bank of the Mississippi, twelve or fifteen miles above the mouth of Black river. Here the Dakotas peremptorily commanded them to put ashore, which they did. No reason was assigned for the order. Upwards of five hundred warriors immediately crowded on board. A passenger who was well acquainted with the Dakotas, observed that they brought no women with them, as was usual ; that they were painted black (which signifies either grief or hostility ;) that they refused to shake hands with the boatmen, and that their speech was brief and sullen. He instantly communicated his observations to Mr. Lindsay, who commanded the boats, and advised him to push on, before the savages should have discovered that the party were wholly unarmed. Lindsay, a bold-hearted Kentuckian, assumed the tone of command, and peremptorily ordered the Dakotas ashore. They, probably, thought that big words would be seconded with hard blows, and complied. The boats pushed on. Several Indians pursued them along the shore for several miles, with speech of taunt and defiance ; but they offered no farther molestation.

The Dakota villages higher up showed much ill-will, but no disposition, or rather no courage, to attack. Altogether, appearances were so threatening, that on his arrival at Fort Snelling, Mr. Lindsay communicated what he had seen to the commanding officer, and asked that his crew should be furnished with arms and ammunition. The request was granted ; his thirty-two men were provided with thirty-two muskets, and

a barrel of ball-cartridges. Thus secured against attack, the boats commenced the descent of the river.

In the meanwhile, the Red Bird had cogitated upon what he had heard, every tittle of which he believed, and had come to the conclusion, that the honor of his race required the blood of two Americans at least. He therefore got into his canoe with Wekaw, or The Sun, and two others, and paddled to Prairie du Chien.

When he got there, he waited upon Mr. Boilevin in the most friendly manner, and begged to be regarded as one of the staunchest friends of the Americans. The venerable agent admitted his claims, but absolutely refused to give him any whisky. The Winnebago chief then applied to a trader in the town, who, relying on his general good character, did not hesitate to furnish him with an eight gallon keg of spirits, the value of which was to be paid in furs, in the succeeding autumn.

There was an old colored woman in the village, whose five sons had never heard that they were inferior beings, either from the Indians or the Canadian French. Therefore, having never considered themselves degraded, they were not degraded. On the contrary, they ranked with the most respectable inhabitants of the place. We knew them well. One of them was the village blacksmith; the others were substantial farmers. Their father was a Frenchman, and their name was Gagnier.

One of these men owned a farm three miles from Prairie du Chien, where he lived with his wife, (a white woman) two children, and a hired man named Liepcap. Thither the Red Bird repaired with his three companions, sure of a fair reception; for Regis Gagnier had always been noted for his humanity to the poor, especially the Indians.

Regis Gagnier invited his savage visitors to enter, hung the kettle over the fire, gave them to eat, and smoked the pipe of peace with them. The Red Bird was the last man on earth whom he would have feared; for they were well acquainted with each other, and had reciprocated good offices. The Indians remained several hours under Gagnier's hospitable roof. At last, when the farmer least expected it, the Winnebago chief levelled his gun and shot him down dead on his own hearth-stone. Liepcap was slain at the same instant by Wekaw. Madam Gagnier turned to fly with her infant (of eighteen months). As she was about to leap through the window, the child was torn from her arms by Wekaw, stabbed, scalped, and thrown violently on the floor, as dead. The murderer then attacked the woman; but gave way when she snatched up a gun that was leaning against the wall, and presented it to his breast. She then effected her escape. Her eldest son, a lad of ten years, also shunned the murderers, and they both arrived in the village at about the same time. The alarm was soon given; but when the avengers of blood arrived at poor Regis Gagnier's house, they found in it nothing living but his mangled infant. It was carried to the village, and, strange as it may seem, recovered.

The Red Bird and his companions immediately proceeded from the scene of their crime to the rendezvous of their band. During their absence, thirty-seven of the warriors, who acknowledged the authority of the Red Bird, had assembled, with their wives and children, near the mouth of Bad Axe river. They received the murderers with exceeding great joy, and loud approbation of their exploit. The keg of liquor was immediately set abroach, the red men began to drink, and, as their spirits rose, to boast of what they had already done and intended to do. Two days did they continue to revel; and on the third, the source of their excitement gave out. They were at about four in the afternoon, dissipating the last fumes of their excitement in the scalp dance,

when they descried one of the keel-boats before mentioned, approaching. Forthwith a proposal to take her, and massacre the crew, was made and carried by acclamation. They counted upon doing this without risk; for they had examined her on her way up and supposed that there were no arms on board.

Mr. Lindsay's boats had descended the river together as far as the village of Wabash, where they expected an attack. The Dakotas on shore were dancing the war dance, and hailed their approach with insults and menaces; but did not nevertheless, offer to obstruct their passage. The whites now supposed the danger over, and a strong wind at that moment beginning to blow up stream, the boats parted company. That which sat deepest in the water had the advantage of the under current, and, of course gained several miles in advance of the other.

So strong was the wind, that all the force of the sweeps could scarcely stem it, and, by the time the foremost boat was near the encampment, at the mouth of the Bad Axe, the crew were very willing to stop and rest. One or two Frenchmen, or half-breeds, who were on board, observed the hostile appearances on shore, and advised the rest to keep the middle of the stream; but their counsel was disregarded. Most of the crew were Americans, who, as is usual with our countrymen, combined a profound ignorance of Indian character with a thorough contempt for Indian prowess. They urged the boat directly toward the camp, with all the force of the sweeps. There were sixteen men on deck. It may be well to observe here, that this, like all keel-boats used in the Mississippi valley, was built almost exactly on the model of the Erie and Middlesex canal boats.

The men were rallying their French companions on their apprehensions, and the boat was within thirty yards of the shore, when suddenly, the trees and rocks rang with the blood-chilling, ear-piercing tones of the war-whoop, and a volley of rifle-balls rained upon the deck. Happily, the Winnebagoes had not yet recovered from the effects of their debauch, and their arms were not steady. One man only fell by their fire. He was a little negro, named Peter. His leg was dreadfully shattered, and he afterwards died of the wound. The rest immediately made the best of their way below. Then Peter began to curse and to swear, denouncing his fellows for leaving him to be shot at like a Christmas turkey; but finding that his reproaches had none effect, he also managed to drag himself below. All this passed in as little time as it will take to read this paragraph.

Presently a voice hailed the boat in the Sac tongue, demanding to know if the crew were English. A half-breed Sac, named Beauchamp, answered in the affirmative. "Then," said the querist, "come on shore, and we will do you no harm, for we are your brethren, the Sacs." "Dog," replied Beauchamp, "no Sac would attack us thus cowardly. If you want us on shore, you must come and fetch us."

With that, a second volley came from the shore; but as the men were now lying prone in the bottom of the boat, below the water line, they all escaped but one. One man, an American, named Stewart fell. He had risen to return the first fire, and the muzzle of his musket protruding through a loop hole, showed some Winnebago where to aim. The bullet struck him under the left arm, and passed directly through his heart. He fell dead, with his finger on the trigger of his undischarged gun. It was a hot day, and before the fight was over, the scent of the gun powder could not overpower the stench of the red puddle around him.

The Winnebagos encouraged by the non-resistance, now rushed to their canoes, with intent to board. One venerable old man endeavored to dissuade them. He laid hold on one of the canoes, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in retaining it; but in the heat of his argument, a ball from the boat hit him on the middle finger of the peace-making hand. Very naturally enraged at such unkind treatment from his friends, he loosed the canoe, hurried to his wigwam for his gun, and took an active part in the remainder of the action. In the mean while, the white men had recovered from their first panic, and seized their arms. The boarders were received with a very severe discharge. In one canoe two savages were killed with the same bullet. Their dying struggles upset the canoe, and the rest were obliged to swim on shore, where it was sometime before they could restore their arms to fighting order. Several more were wounded, and those who remained unhurt, put back, satisfied that a storm was not the best mode of attack.

Two, however, persevered. They were together in one canoe, and approached the boat astern, where there was no hole through which the whites could fire upon them. They soon leaped on board. One seized the long steering oar, or rudder. The other jumped upon deck, where he halted, and discharged five muskets, which had been left there when the crew fled below, through the deck and bottom of the boat. In this manner he wounded one man very severely. After this exploit, he hurried to the bow, where he seized a long pole, and with the assistance of the steersman, succeeded in grounding the boat on a sand bar, and fixing her fast under the fire of his people. The two Winnebago boatmen then began to load and fire, to the no small annoyance of the crew. He at the stern, was soon despatched. One of the whites observed his position through a crack, and gave him a mortal wound through the boards. Still, he struggled to get overboard, probably to save his scalp. But his struggles were feeble, and a second bullet terminated them before he could effect his object. After the fight was over, the man who slew him took his scalp.

The bow of the boat was open, and the warrior there still kept his station, out of sight, excepting when he stooped to fire, which he did five times. His third shot broke the arm and passed through the lungs of the brave Beauchamp. At this sight one or two began to speak of surrender. "No, friends," cried the dying man, "You will not save your lives so. Fight to the last; for they will show no mercy. If they get the better of you, for God's sake throw me overboard. Do not let them get my hair." He continued to exhort them to resistance, as long as his breath lasted, and died with the words, "fight on," on his lips. Before the time, however, his slayer had also taken his leave of life. A sailor, named Jack Mandeville, shot him through the head, and he fell overboard, carrying his gun with him.

From that moment Mandeville, assumed the command of the boat. A few had resolved to take the skiff and leave the rest to their fate. They had already cast off the rope. Jack interposed, swearing that he would shoot the first man and bayonet the second, who would persevere. They submitted. Two more had hidden themselves in the bow of the boat, out of sight, but not out of danger. After a while, the old tar missed them, sought them, and compelled them by threats of instant death, enforced by pricks of his bayonet, to leave their hiding place, and take share in the business in hand. Afterwards they fought like bull-dogs. It was well for them that Mandeville acted as he did; for they had scarcely risen, when a score of bullets at least, passed through the place where they had been lying.

After the two or three first volleys, the fire had slackened; but it was not, therefore the less dangerous. The Indians had the advantage of superior numbers, and could shift their postures at pleasure. The whites were compelled to lie in the bottom of the boat, below the water-mark, for its sides were no bulwark. Every bullet passed through and through. It was only at intervals, and very warily, that they could rise to fire; for the flash of every gun showed the position of the marksman, and was instantly followed by the reports of two or three Indian rifles. On the other hand, they were not seen, and being thinly scattered over a large boat, the Winnebagoes could but guess their positions. The fire, was, therefore, slow; for none on either side, cared to waste ammunition. Thus, for upwards of three hours, the boatmen lay in blood and bilge water, deprived of the free use of their limbs, and wholly unable to extricate themselves.

At last, as the night fell, Mandeville came to the conclusion that darkness would render the guns of his own party wholly useless, while it would not render the aim of the Winnebagoes a jot less certain. He, therefore, as soon as it was dark, stoutly called for assistance and sprang into the water. Four more followed him. The balls rained around them, passing through their clothes; but they persisted, and the boat was soon afloat. Seeing their prey escaping, the Winnebagoes raised a yell of mingled rage and despair, and gave the whites a farewell volley. It was returned, with three hearty cheers, and ere a gun could be re-loaded, the boat had floated out of shot.

For half the night, a wailing voice, apparently that of an old man, was heard, following the boat, at a safe distance, however. It was conjectured that it was the father of him whose body the boat was bearing away. Subsequent inquiry proved this supposition to be correct.

Thirty-seven Indians were engaged in this battle, seven of whom were killed, and fourteen were wounded. They managed to put six hundred and ninety-three balls into and through the boat. Two of the crew were killed outright, two mortally, and two slightly wounded. Jack Mandeville's courage and presence of mind, undoubtedly, saved the rest, as well as the boat; but we have never heard that he was rewarded in any way or shape.

Mr. Lindsay's boat reached the mouth of the Bad Axe about midnight. The Indians opened a fire upon her, which was promptly returned. There was a light on board, at which the first gun was probably aimed, for that ball only hit the boat. All the rest passed over harmless in the darkness.

Great was the alarm at Prairie du Chien when the boats arrived there. The people left their houses and farms, and crowded into the dilapidated Fort. Nevertheless, they showed much spirit, and speedily established a very effective discipline. An express was immediately sent to Galena, and another to Fort Snelling, for assistance. A company of upwards of a hundred volunteers soon arrived from Galena, and the minds of the inhabitants were quieted.

In a few days four imperfect companies of the fifth infantry arrived from Fort Snelling. The commanding officer ordered a march on the Red Bird's village; but as the volunteers refused to obey, and determined to return home, he was obliged to countermand it.

The consternation of the people of the lead mines was great. Full half of them fled from the country. Shortly after, however, when General Atkinson arrived with a full regiment, a considerable body of volunteers joined him from Galena, and accompanied

him to the portage of Wisconsin, to fight with or receive the submission of the Winnebagoes.

The Red Bird there appeared, in all the paraphernalia of an Indian chief and warrior and surrendered himself to justice, together with his companions in the murder of Gagnier, and one of his band, who had taken an active part in the attack on the boats. They were incarcerated at Prairie du Chien. A dreadful epidemic broke out there about this time, and he died in prison. He knew that his death was certain, and did not shrink from it.

In the course of a year, the people of the lead mines increased in number and in strength, and encroached upon the Winnebago lands. The Winnebagoes complained in vain. Next spring, the murderers of Methode, and the other Indian prisoners, were tried, convicted and sentenced to death. A deputation of the tribe went to Washington to solicit their pardon. President Adams granted it, on the implied condition that the tribe would cede the lands, then in possession of the miners. The Winnebagoes have kept their word—the land has been ceded, and Madame Gagnier has been compensated for the loss of her husband, and the mutilation of her infant. We believe that she received, after waiting for justice two years, the magnificent sum of two thousand dollars.

We will close this true account of Life beyond the Frontier, with an anecdote which places the Winnebago character in a more amiable light than any thing already related. The militia of Prairie du Chien immediately after the affair of the boats, seized the old chief Descorrie; the same who has already been mentioned. He was told that if the Red Bird should not be given up within a certain time, he was to die in his stead. This he steadfastly believed. Finding that confinement injured his health, he requested to be permitted to range the country on his parole. The demand was granted. He was bidden to go whither he pleased during the day, but at sunset he was required to return to the Fort on pain of being considered an old woman. He observed the condition religiously. At the first tap of the retreat, Descorrie was sure to present himself at the gate, and this he continued to do, till General Atkinson set him at liberty.

NOTE.—The materials illustrative of the history of Minnesota, have proved more numerous than was anticipated.

With the chapter on Fort Snelling it is necessary to conclude the document.

At a future day the history of Minnesota from its occupancy by the Military in 1819, until the organization of the Territory in 1849, may be published.

NOTE.—Owing to the haste in which it was necessary to issue a portion of the Annals, the reader will detect some typographical errors. The only one of material importance is in Gov. Ramsey's address, where Carver is said to have been in Minnesota, in 1776 instead of 1766.

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